UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE ATTITUDE OF THE JEWISH STUDENT IN THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES TOWARDS HIS RELIGION

A Social Study of Religious Changes

MARVIN NATHAN

A THESIS

IN SOCIOLOGY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
1932

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MARVIN NATHAN

PHILADELPHIA

1932

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DR. MARVIN NATHAN

To my wife

DOROTHEA B. NATHAN

Whose encouragement and inspiration

have made this book possible

PREFACE

This study on the "Attitude of the Jewish Student in the Colleges and Universities Towards His Religion" has been presented, as a thesis in Sociology, to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The Synagogue asks, "Where are our young people"? The Jewish students were invited to give expression to what they think and feel about their religion. Their replies which are interpeted in terms of the social forces in the environment, help answer this question.

It has been my desire not only to make a study of the religious attitude of the Jewish students but also to present the results with a minimum of technicalities so that the students themselves, as well as others, may be able to read this book with interest. The Statistics have been condensed as much as possible in the various Chapters but the Tables in detail have been placed in the Appendix. These are an indispensable part of the thesis, the evidence that warrants the important conclusions of this study. The general contents of the book, however, will be found helpful without referring to the statistics or the tables.

Every effort has been made to avoid controversial subjects so as to prevent diverting the attention from the problem under consideration. Zionism and Anti-Zionism or the many other issues on which there is a wide divergence of opinion have not been dwelt on. However diverse may be the hopes entertained, or the programs outlined, for the future of Judaism, here and now, at our very door are the problems of the breakdown of the religious beliefs and practices of our Jewish youth. These must be of vital concern to all our people, the understanding and solving of them deserving of the best thought and effort of a united Jewry.

I am indebted to Professor Stuart A. Rice for his valuable suggestions in arranging the Questionnaire, the Tables and the

general form of the book; to Professors Carl Kelsey and James L. Lichtenberger, for their counsel and encouragement; to Dr. Julius B. Maller of Teachers College, Columbia University, for his helpful criticisms. My thanks to Harold Riegelman, Esq., of New York City, for his good will and to the professors and the many students who aided in distributing and collecting the questionnaires and to all those who, through their cooperation and interest, contributed the material for this book.

I wish to express my appreciation to the Commission on Education of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and to its Chairman, Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, for the Fellowship granted me to complete this study.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

I

The Problem

An earnest desire has been awakened to inquire into, and to ascertain, as far as possible, just what is transpiring in the life and thought of the Jewish group of boys and girls in our colleges and universities. The insistent criticism has been leveled against these institutions of learning that they undermine and destroy the religious feelings, beliefs and practices which the students bring with them. For many, this perennial youth question is no problem at all, at least no new problem. The instability of emotional life, the desire for independence and emancipation, the seeking of new adventures, characteristics peculiar to adolescence, create a revolt against all forms of authority. Indifference towards, and protest against, organized religion have been essentially a manifestation of youth. It is true that every generation has had its youth problem but in this age the youth question, as far as Jewish boys and girls are concerned, goes much deeper. The doubt and confusion they experience, the dissatisfaction they feel and the lack of adequate moral guidance they find are not essentially the temporary manifestations of a restless and questioning adolescence that will cease with the passing of youth. It is not only a question of our Jewish youth at college with which we are confronted but the much larger problem of the clash of Judaism with the forces of the present day civilization. This civilization with its outlook and activities is so different, in so many ways, from those of the ancient and middle ages, in which Judaism came into being and developed, that it is bound to influence our youth without as well as within the walls of the university and to affect the adult as well as the child. The youth question is but one part of a larger problem. The study of the attitude of the Jewish student towards Judaism reveals the weaknesses of the entire religious structure. The whole system must be reinterpreted, the objectives and curricula of the religious school and the function of the synagogue must be

reconstructed before there can be a solution of the problem of the Jewish student in the colleges and universities.

This study will show, (1) What are the facts regarding the changes of attitudes and practices as expressed by the students, (2) What brought about the changes and (3) What are the conclusions?

I

The statistical tables reveal the facts as to the changed attitudes towards religious beliefs, religious customs and ethical training. About one-third of the respondents have retained their belief in the personal concept of God. About two-thirds no longer have this concept. There is not much atheism or agnosticism among the students but there is more skepticism. These three groups who maintain a negative attitude constitute nearly one-third of all the students. The remaining one-third have formed a new concept of God from their thoughts, their studies, their experience. These groups, who do not accept the personal concept of God, agree in this respect: they find that the personal concept of God does not work out in their experience and does not form an adequate symbol for the way of life in a modern age. There is a close connection between the God concept and the observance of religious practices. The students with the personal concept of God have the highest percentages for religious observances and those with the atheistic and agnostic concepts, the lowest percentages.

The attitude of about three-fifths of the students is one of doubt, confusion or indifference. The influence of the environment, their contacts, their increase in knowledge, their questioning and thinking for themselves, lead to doubt and confusion as to the principles and ideas of their religion and the events of biblical history. There is more doubt and confusion in the minds of the respondents than indifference. If their doubts cannot be resolved nor their confusion clarified, their attitude becomes one of indifference towards religion. To this doubt and confusion is added the conflict of religion and science. It is found that at least three-fourths of all the respondents are troubled with intellectual problems and difficulties about their faith.

The same attitude is discernible in the practice of religious customs. About one-third of the students reject them because they belong to the age in which they developed or because they are outworn or do not fit in or are found inadequate for present day living. About one-fourth are dissatisfied with having the emphasis put on the practice of these religious customs because they feel that the need for emphasis on morals is far more important. These students would change the conception of religion from that of customs and ceremonials to one of ethics. In Bible study or reading, nearly three-fifths have broken away from the practice or have never studied nor read the Bible at all. In Divine Service attendance, two-thirds have broken away or have never attended services. In the reciting of prayers at home, three-fourths have broken away or have never recited prayers at all. Students from the orthodox and conservative homes have received a more intensive training in the knowledge and observance of religious practices than the students from reform homes. Students who attended Talmud Torahs and were given private instruction have received a more intensive training in the knowledge and observance of religious practices than the students from the Sunday schools. The largest percentages of these students with the most intensive religious training and the strictest religious background break away from the practices of Bible reading, synagogue attendance and reciting prayers at home. A little less than one-half of these students begin this break away while yet in the high schools.

There is a difference in percentages, often a marked difference, between the students with synagogue affiliation and the students with no synagogue affiliation. A difference in percentage is often but not always found between the students with religious education and those with no religious education. The students of the three religious groups, orthodox, conservative and reform, show a marked similarity in their reaction to the new influences and forces with which they are surrounded. These points of likeness can be explained. There are many more resemblances than differences in the percentages found in all the tables among the students attending the different types of religious schools and for the different time durations of attendance there. These

resemblances and differences can be accounted for. The influence of the home is stronger than the religious school in holding the students to the religious beliefs and practices taught them.

About one-fifth of the students maintain that their faith was deepened or remained unchanged at the university. This attitude is in large measure due to the fact that they did not question their faith or that they did not face squarely the conflict between religion and science.

II

The opinions expressed by the students suggest some of the causes that have brought about the changes in their attitude towards Judaism. They are fully aware that their religion conflicts with science and feel that many of their religious customs seem irrelevent in their present activities and environment but they are unable to explain this conflict and irrelevency. As pupils in the religious school they were taught one point of view and were deeply impressed with the dramatic stories and events of the history of their people. But the era, they learned about, knew but little of the laws and sequences of nature. The people depended upon and struggled against these natural forces and it was "By the sweat of their brow that they ate their bread." Out of this experience grew the knowledge of God, the spirit of faith, dependence, submission. The growing adolescent, however, acquires another outlook in his secular education. The attitude now is not dependence upon nature but the controlling, directing and harnessing of the forces of nature. The contents of the physical and social sciences differ from that of religion. Religion might have remained unchallenged and unchanged did the students not question it but a clash and a conflict ensue just as soon as the students give the subject any thought.

The attitude towards religious customs and practices undergoes a change. The child thoroughly enjoys the ceremonies in the home and the religious school but the adolescent becomes habituated to the activities and interests of his environment. He soon finds that the religious customs he has practiced do not now fit in. They seem to him to belong to another age, to be expressive of a day that is gone. They are a something apart from

his daily activities. His new interests and thoughts estrange him from them, and he finds them burdensome. When the religious and the secular activities clash, the religious tend to be crowded out.

The child loses respect for external authority as he grows older. This disrespect and this spirit of self-assertion seem to come out of the very atmosphere he breathes, the environment in which he lives. Parents soon learn they cannot command nor expect obedience just because they are parents. When they reveal themselves worthy of respect they find that their children turn to them for help and guidance. Laws, commands, traditions and customs today, will not make children obey. They were controlling forces when conditions remained fixed and unchanged but they are not adequate for the ever changing situations of present day living. Students emphasize the great importance of moral training, not the practice of the customs. The religious school teaches the religious ideas and practices of the faith but fails to make provision for an adjustment in the minds of the pupils between these beliefs and observances and the forces and influences of the environment in which the adolescents find themselves.

The university cannot be held responsible for the weakening or the undermining of the faith of its students. The break away begins at the high school if not before. The instruction given students, however, does not succeed in making clear to them the meaning of science as a method or a philosophy. It does not give them an understanding of the machinery of the social order in which they live. The present educational system evolves no method or technique by means of which they can develop moral character out of their intellectual training. Some students become materialistic and mechanistic in philosophy and exclude the need of religion or the belief in any God and at times discard even morality. At the university confusion about religion tends to become worse confounded. Their educational training has not tended to clarify the situation nor helped the students in their dilemma.

III

The main purpose of this study has been to secure the facts, to

find the causes and, the most important of all, to point out the implications and to draw the conclusions. A correct diagnosis of conditions is a prime necessity. The religious life of our Jewish youth is in an unhealthy state. This is clearly evident. That these symptoms, however, indicate that the malady is widespread, that it affects every aspect of our religious thought and practice, that it reaches to the very heart of our faith, we do not fully understand nor willingly acknowledge. The extent and the seriousness of the disease we refuse to recognize. The real difficulty does not lie in the perversity of youth nor in the distractions that encompass them but rather in the failure of Jewish leaders to adjust the teachings of Judaism to the new forces in the students' environment.

The results of the influences of religious education upon the students are negative. They turn away, if they do not turn against, the ideas taught them. The great majority of students do not attend the synagogue. The trend has been away from the personal concept of God which is the very foundation of worship. The home exerts a stronger influence upon the students than the religious school. The students maintain that their ethical training comes from the home and from contacts with their companions. The practice of religious customs, however, taught in the home, with the exception of a small percentage of students, is not carried over into the university. What they were taught in the religious school causes much doubt and confusion in the students' mind. It leads to a breaking away from the religious practices taught there. The school does not provide for an adjustment between the teachings and practices of religion and the activities of our present daily life. Judaism, to be dynamic, must appeal to the intelligence of youth, understand his needs and interests and aid in his moral development. Creative participation in the activities of our social order, not faith and resignation, is the expression of the newer symbol. Man has built the machine age, he must be its master. To endeavor to help make a better social order, now constitutes the large measure of our religious duty. Beyond, may be the unknown realm which calls for faith and resignation but at hand is the "here and now" which is ours to control and direct. It is in this field of activity that religion must be of influence.

Here is the problem then for Judaism and for all other faiths. The influence of religion, as expressive of a life that is past, is waning and breaking down. Religion, as interpretative of the modern life, must be reconstructed. Judaism was not a religion alone but rather a civilization, out of which developed its beliefs and practices. Judaism must again become identified with the activities of the present social order. It must endeavor to understand, to direct, to spiritualize these activities. Out of these efforts must grow the reconstructed symbols, the methods, the principles and ideals of the faith. The home can still influence the student by creating the religious atmosphere through the observance of customs and ceremonies although these in the future will play but a secondary part. The confidence and comradeship between parents and adolescents come from sympathy and understanding. These will permit of guidance and counsel in many trying situations and will help in the development of moral and religious character. The religious school, however, must broaden its objectives and enlarge its curriculum. Its task is not only to limit its endeavors to subjects with a purely Jewish content but to include in its curriculum, especially for youth education, the study of social, economical and political problems, because these constitute the greater part of the interests, activities and life of present day youth. Such a curriculum will afford the opportunity of examining life situations so necessary to the understanding and controlling of his experience and will provide the methods of moral training. Then the knowledge of the history of the Jews and their literature will be understood and appreciated. He will be able to adjust the teachings of his faith to the ideas and activities of his daily life. He may be led to see life as a whole and even to integrate and unify it.

The synagogue must help to develop not a passive, listening, but a thinking congregation. It must again become an active center of Jewish life in all its manifestations. In it must be taught understanding and coöperation with God and with man. Religion must be socialized. It is not enough to emphasize the glories that have passed. Its purpose is rather to carry on such an educational program that will embrace all the activities and problems of present day life. The aim is not to secularize

the synagogue. The secular, nevertheless, is being dragged into the pulpit and into all the activities of the synagogue. The purpose is rather to put the spirit of the synagogue into those secular activities which constitute life today, to stamp them with a moral purpose, to judge them by the highest spiritual standards. The gap between religion and contemporary life must be bridged. Judaism must again grow out of, and be a part of, the activities of the existing social order. Religion and life in this modern, complex order must again be made synonymous, just as they were in preceding ages. Life and its demands have created the institutions of the past. Life will continue to mould these institutions to meet its needs in the present and the future.

PART II

THE METHOD

II

The study was made by means of questionnaires. The questionnaires were distributed among thirty-seven hundred Jewish students of both sexes; fifteen hundred were returned from fifty-seven different colleges and universities. Over one hundred students also were personally interviewed at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University, both in Philadelphia, Pa. Many group discussions were held at several universities.

I. *The Questionnaire*—The questionnaire, carefully worked out and tested, was finally sent out in its present form. It covered many aspects of the religious background and life of the students, all of which could not be used. It had an introduction and seven sections. In the introductory part, students were asked, what college or university was attended, course pursued, year at the university, their sex and home city or town. Question 5, about age was not used. In Section A, Religious Training is limited to Questions 7 and 9; the type of religious school attended, the number of years of attendance or the fact that there was no religious training, the number of books of Jewish interest read in the three years preceding the answering of this questionnaire. In Section B, the Jewish Background consisted of Questions 11, 12 and 13, the kind of congregation to which the parents belonged; the extent of the observance of the Jewish customs in the home, and how satisfactory was the explanation of these observances given them. In Section C, Development, covered by Questions 17, 18 and 19, the attempt was made to learn how regular were the practices of Bible reading, religious service attendance or the recital of prayers at home, during the three periods of grammar school, high school and university; the extent of the change in each of these practices and the time at which it was made. Question 21, the God Idea, shows the development of the idea of God from

the concept held in childhood to that formulated at the University and the stages of change through which it passed. This question provided space for the full expression of the students' views instead of listing a number of concepts to be checked. This afforded the students the opportunity of giving much more exact information and fuller explanation of their views. Section D, Jewish Environment at University, was omitted except Question 24 C, The Observance of the Dietary Laws. Some of the information as to the influence of college activities is found in the answers to Question 26. The most important part of the questionnaire is Section E, Changes, which has two aspects; the Nature of Change and the Causes of Change. Space is also provided after this question for the full expression of the students' thoughts and feelings. Much more information was given in this way than could be obtained through the checking of an arranged list of changes. More types of answers were found than could have been provided for or thought of at the beginning. Five suggestions in the Nature of Change were outlined in Question 26, part a, but at least twenty different kinds of changes were mentioned. While eleven suggested Causes for Change were outlined, Question 26, part b, over thirty different types of answers, some with many subdivisions, were given. In Section F, the answers to Question 27, part a, the Problems of a Jewish or religious nature discussed by the students, consisted at least of twenty-five different classes of problems, some with subdivisions. Part b, Question 27, the general conclusions were in most cases indefinite and inconclusive and consequently omitted. Question 28, parts a, b, c, affords the student the opportunity to state whether he has met with any religious prejudice on the part of the teachers and the student body and to indicate the nature of his adjustment to the university or college environment. Section 9, Needs, was omitted.

II. *The Distribution, Collection and Return of the Questionnaires* —About thirty-seven hundred questionnaires were sent out; fifteen hundred were returned, over forty per cent, from fifty-seven colleges and universities throughout the entire country. Many methods were used in the distribution of the questionnaires. Two national Jewish fraternities and one national

Jewish sorority aided in distributing them in thirty-eight colleges and universities; the Menorah, Avukah and Hillel Foundation in twenty; six professors, and thirty students not affiliated with fraternities or sororites in twenty others, and the mail was used in the case of three universities. In some colleges one method of distribution was used, in most of them several were employed. Over one hundred students and a few professors aided in the distribution, collection and return of the questionnaires. A helpful spirit of co-operation pervaded the work. Many were pleased at the opportunity offered to aid in the survey, some were very enthusiastic. The president of one college at first refused the request for the use of a room for a meeting of the students and forbade the distribution of the questionnaires. After learning in detail the purpose of the study, he not only gave his consent but requested his own secretary to aid in the work. The instructions, given regarding the distributing of the Questionnaire, were, in a large measure, carried out. These were to distribute them (1) to the juniors and seniors who for at least two years, were under the influence of the university, (2) to, as nearly as was possible, a cross section representation of the Jewish college student body, and (3) to request the students, filling out the questionnaires, to answer as carefully and honestly, yet as freely and frankly as they could. There were no returns from a few colleges where packages of questionnaires had been sent out. A large proportion from most of the others was rereturned to make up the fifteen hundred questionnaires answered and received. The fifty-seven colleges and universities replying were divided into eight sections; from Canada, two; Philadelphia, two; New York City, seven; the New England States, eight; the East, twelve; the South, eight; the Middle Western States, ten; and the Far West, eight. The number of returns varied from one hundred twenty-five in the New England States, to three hundred seventy-five in the Middle West. Canada, however, had only forty.

III. *The Tabulation*—The material was so abundant that parts of it had to be omitted, as indicated in Section I, the Questionnaire, because the punch card could not hold it all. The preparation for the tabulation was a long and arduous task.

Questions 21, the God Idea, and 26 a and b, the Nature and Causes of Change, were the most difficult to handle. Here were long and often excellent expositions of the development of the God concept or the changes through which the feeling and attitude of the students passed, qualitative differences to be reduced to quantitative differences. It was deemed advisable, in preparing the questionnaire, to give the student the opportunity, and to provide ample space for him, to express in his own words his ideas on his God concept rather than arrange a list of God concepts and ask him to check off the one in which he believed. The same concepts do not have the same connotation for all students, nor are they defined by them in strict accord with theological terminology. For these reasons the method of checking off concepts would have had but little value. One hundred answers to question 21 were carefully read and a key provided. The key was based on the names of concepts as used by the students and defined by them. Some students gave both the name and definition and others gave the definition, and the name of the concept which the key provided was applied. The concepts are based on what the students understand them to mean. Atheism, to most respondents, means not a denial of the existence of God, but, what to the student seems an equivalent, the denial of the concept of God taught in the religious school. To him the alternatives are the personal concept of God or no God at all. In some cases the name of the concept given did not fit in with the definition or description of it. These answers were classified according to the definition and not the name. For instance a student who called himself an atheist, meaning that the concept of God as taught does not exist, went on to state that he believes God manifests himself in the laws of nature. This was marked not atheist but deist. In the few cases of students holding two concepts, a personal God under one set of conditions, an impersonal God under another, the answer was divided in two parts, one-half for the personal and the other half for the particular impersonal concept. This method of permitting the student to express his thoughts, though more difficult to tabulate, was found far more helpful and suggestive. It afforded a far better insight into the students' mind and a

clearer understanding of just what they meant by the terms they used. The answers of Question 21, the God Idea, were arranged in twenty categories, reduced to six and then combined into three, (1) the Personal Concept, (2) the Atheistic and (3) the Impersonal. The last is subdivided into four parts, (a) the Subjective, (b) the Deistic or Force in Nature, (c) the Skeptical or Doubtful and (d) the Agnostic. These six divisions are also used in the Tables in Series C, in which the God concepts are used for the headings. The "Unknown", the group of students who did not answer this question, is added as a separate column.

This same method of tabulation is used in Question 26 a and b in which the students expressed themselves frankly and fully on the Nature of Change and the Causes of Change through which their thought, attitude and feeling towards Judaism passed. Over one hundred answers to these questions were read and a key developed from them. All the answers were marked by means of this key. When new aspects were mentioned they were added to the key. The students in expressing their opinions suggested a much larger list of changes and of causes of change in attitude than possibly could have been thought of or arranged at the outset. The students define the terms they use, which is very helpful and indispensable in understanding students' thoughts and feelings. They tell, for instance, just what they have in mind when they say, Religion was deepened or unchanged at the university, an interpretation that could not possibly have been inferred if they had merely checked off on a prepared list of changes the words, "Religion Deepened or Religion Unchanged." In Question 26, part a, the Nature of Change, the twenty different types of answers are reduced to four sections, (1) Religion deepened or unchanged at the University, (2) Doubt, confusion, indifference, (3) Disbelief in, or rejection of Judaism as to customs, ceremonies or beliefs, (4) Change of the conception of Judaism as a religion of customs and beliefs to that of a civilization, race, nationality, morality or personal religion. See Tables Nos. XVI, XXVI and XXXVIII.

In Question 26, part b, the Causes of Change, the thirty different types of answers are gathered together under four sections, (1) Influence of home and contacts helping and hinder-

ing religious thought or practice, (2) Intellectual reasons, as increase of knowledge, religious or secular, conflict or harmonizing of religion and science, thinking out problems for one's self, etc., (3) Dissatisfaction with forms of religion, (4) University activities that cause indifference. (See Tables Nos. XVII., XXVII and XXXIX.)

Section 1 is divided into four constituent parts, (a) Helpful influences, (b) Upsetting and disturbing influences, (c) Belief in the insincerity of religious leaders and activities, (d) Active work in social service, etc. (See Tables Nos. XVIII, XXVIII and XL.) Section 2 is also separated into four parts, (a) Increase of religious knowledge or harmonizing of religion and science, (b) Increase of secular knowledge or conflict of religion and science, (c) Beliefs and customs accepted blindly or as matter of course, or because of lack of religious knowledge, (d) Desire for more religious information (See Tables Nos. XIX and XXIX.) Many of the answers include more than one attitude that is changed and more than one cause, to account for the changed attitude. These changed attitudes and these causes, are considered and counted separately. Because of these repetitions, the columns in Tables XVI, XXVI and XXXVIII on the "Nature of Change", and in the Tables XVII, XXVII and XXXIX on the "Causes of Change", add up to more than one hundred per cent.

In Question 27 a, the many problems discussed by the students were placed in twenty-five divisions which were then reduced to four groups; (1) Religious questions as beliefs, customs, etc., (2) Social questions as attitude and relation of Jew to Non-Jew and Non-Jew to Jew, Intermarriage, etc., (3) Trends in Judaism, as adjustment of Jew to Judaism and to environment, survival, assimilation, Zionism, etc., (d) Social, intellectual and religious questions, affecting Jewish students at universities. (See Tables XX, XXX and XLI.) This question was not taken up in the thesis.

Other questions in the tabulation in which many difficulties were encountered were No. 7 and the group including Nos. 17, 18 and 19. In Question No. 7, the types of religious school attended and the number of years of attendance are given.

Some students received their training in two or three different schools and attended each for different durations of time. If all these details were to be considered, the large number of combinations would make tabulation impossible. Only the religious school which each student attended the largest number of years could be considered. (See Tables V, VI, and VII.)

In Questions 17, 18 and 19, which are arranged according to a similar plan, three checks were made. One under public school age, the second, under high school age and the third, under age at the university. The tables, made on the basis of these questions, indicate the development or changes of these religious practices. Under "Existence, continuance or change of practice," there are four sections in each Table. Section 1, Continued practice throughout grammar school, high school and university; (a), regular practice and (b), occasional practice. Section 2, Break in the practice; (a), at high school and (b), at university. Section 3, No practice, (a), at any period, (b) at university. Section 4, Increase in practice, (a), at high school and (b), at university. If Section 3 b, which is a repetition of part of Section 2, is omitted, the percentages of each column will add up to one hundred.

Question 17, in which the Jewish Literature, marked J. L. column, is omitted, is outlined in Tables Nos. XII, XXII and XXXV, Question 18 in Tables Nos. XIII, XXIII and XXXVI and Question 19 in Tables Nos. XIV, XXIV and XXXVII.

IV. *The Series of Tables*—The tabulations were made under General Tables, Tables I–VIII and then under three headings or three series. (1) Series A, called "Synagogue Affiliation" has all the tables of percentages of students with the three different groups of synagogue affiliation, namely, the orthodox, conservative and reform groups and of those with the non-affiliated group, Tables IX–XXI; (2) Series B, called "Religious Education" has two divisions, A and B. This Series has the percentages of students with (A) different types of religious instruction, namely, the Sunday school, Talmud Torah and private instruction and including no instruction and with (B) specified time durations of religious instruction in all schools, Less than five years and More than five years instruc-

tion), Tables XXII–XXX; (3) Series C, called the "God Idea" has all the tables of percentages of students with the different God concepts, (a) Personal, (b) Subjective, (c) Deistic or Force in Nature, (d) Skeptical, (e) Agnostic, (f) Atheistic and (g) Unknown attitude towards the God Idea, Tables XXXI–XLI. All of these tables are found in Appendix C.

The Unknown group, the number that did not answer the question in each table is taken out. That accounts for the different number of students in each table.

V. *The Method Used in the Study*—The Chapters under the factual data have three parts, (1) The Statistics, (2) The Views expressed by the students, and (3) The Conclusions.

(1) *Statistics*—The statistical data for each subject is made up of three tables, one from each series. Each subject is considered from three points of view (1) the students with synagogue affiliation and the students with no affiliation, (2) the students with religious education and the students without religious education and (3) the students with different God concepts. The resemblances and differences in each table are pointed out. One or two of these tables, often condensed, will be included in each chapter. Reference will most frequently be made to the detailed tables in the Appendix.

(2) *The Views Expressed by the Students*—While the statistics form the basis for the conclusions, it is desired to make this more than a statistical study. The statistics provide the outline, but the views expressed by the students fill in the details. While it is necessary to know the number that maintain one concept or another of God or have passed through one stage of change or another, it is helpful to understand just what the students mean by these concepts and changes. When for instance, the students believe that their faith has been deepened or remained unchanged, what significance do they give to the ideas, deepened or unchanged? These add much to the force and clearness of the students' attitude. In the study of a specific change, the endeavor has been made, in order to be as objective as possible, to select all the questionnaires on that particular subject, to study them all, to gather together all the different views and to illustrate each by the thoughts expressed by the students. Some

of these views throw light not only upon the religious atmosphere of the home but also upon the motives and the methods of instruction used by the parents. These explain their attitude towards Bible study, service attendance and recital of prayers at home and thus provide a clearer understanding of many aspects of the study, that otherwise might not have been obtained. It was these thoughts, expressed by the students, many of them clear, intimate, forceful, that provided most of the material for this thesis.

(3) *Conclusions, Interpretations and Suggestions*—The results of the study are divided into three parts: first, the conclusions, second, the interpretations and third, suggestions. The conclusions are reached through a careful study of the material. The statistics give the trends and the extent of the changes of the students' thoughts and feelings regarding religion, and the opinions provide the students' explanation of these trends and changes. In these conclusions is to be found the diagnosis of the complete breakdown of the religious influences in the life and thought of the student body. But it was deemed necessary to interpret these conclusions, first, to portray the religious conditions of the home and to outline the curricula and methods of the religious school and, second, what is far more important, to describe in some detail just what is happening in the religious world, to explain the clash of religion with the forces of the present environment. The students are fully aware of this clash but they cannot describe it. They hold, for instance, that there is a conflict between religion and science and they give an increase in secular knowledge and their thinking about religion as the causes of this conflict in their mind but just what it is, they do not attempt to explain. The adding of these interpretations, it was felt, clarified the confusion of thought on these problems. Suggestions too are offered; first, as to the kind of changes that must be made to meet the problems and interests of the students and second, as to the nature of the reinterpretation and reconstruction of Judaism that must be attempted if religion is again to be a vital force in the students' life. The conclusions of this study are the most important aspect, the purpose for which it was undertaken. These are incomplete and cannot be

clearly understood without the other two, the interpretations and suggestions. The three are brought together in the same chapter. No other arrangement seemed possible. The effort is always made to separate them and to point out what are the conclusions and what the interpretations and suggestions.

VI. *Presuppositions*—The study is not theological but rather psychological. It is made from the point of view of the student; what he thinks and feels about religion. It tells how religion is influenced by the forces of the environment in which he lives. The conclusions are based largely on the views he expressed, the experience through which he has passed. He borrows his terms from theology but he defines them differently, gives them a another significance.

Judaism must be regarded as a civilization. It grew out of the economic, social and political conditions of the era in which it developed and exerted its strongest influence. Its God idea, its ritual, its customs, its history are all of one piece; they are symbolic of its philosophy of life and of its interpretation of reality; they all stand or fall together. The student too regards religion as a civilization, an interpretation of life. He looks at it from his activities, interests and problems, and from that point of view he finds religion out of joint with the times.

Religion must be considered more as a function than as a content. It spiritualized an agricultural civilization and brought religion into all the activities of life. It must grow out of the economic, social and political conditions of today. It must spiritualize the activities of an industrial civilization. It must unify and integrate life, if it would continue to carry on its function. Religion, as the student considers it, has to do not with a life beyond this sphere, not with a realm of mystery into which knowledge cannot delve and which science cannot clarify, not with the conditions of a day that is gone, but with the here and the now. In the present sphere of activity which science can teach us to control, much must be learned and much must be done, if we would help to make a better social order, if we would justify and clarify the belief that life has unity, purpose and worthwhileness.

Judaism must be reinterpreted and reconstructed to provide

for the needs and interests of our youth, to help solve their problems and to integrate their life. In this way alone, can it again be of influence, can it make possible the continuity of Judaism, can it prevent that with which it seems to be threatened, a break with the past and the end of the influence of the ancestral faith in the life and thought of the student.

PART III

FACTUAL DATA

III

The Background of the Student

It is necessary, before entering upon this study, to have some information regarding the character and the religious background of the group of students whose replies constitute the material for this investigation.

What is the proportion of the sexes in the different groups; in what year or class are the students at the university; are they studying in their home town or are they away from home; from what religious groups do they come; what religious training did they have; and to what extent were the religious customs observed in their homes?

TABLE I

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 STUDENTS OF THE DIFFERENT SEXES

SECTION	SEX	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Men	1064	71
2	Women	437	29

I. *Men and Women Students*—There were fifteen hundred one returns, of which ten hundred sixty-four or seventy-one per cent are from men students, four hundred thirty-seven or twenty-nine per cent from women students. The relative proportion of returns from the two sexes is accidental. There are more men than women in the colleges and universities. This disproportion has decreased, with the building of women's colleges and the introduction of co-education. The reluctance on the part of parents to send their daughters to college has been largely overcome. This reluctance is still very evident among the orthodox Jews, much more so than among the reform Jews.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION

SECTION	SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION	MEN STUDENTS		WOMEN STUDENTS		ALL STUDENTS	
		NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT	NUMBER	PER CENT
1.....	Orthodox	513	48	145	33	658	44
2.....	Conservative	147	14	70	16	217	14
3.....	Reform	336	31	184	42	520	35
4.....	Non-affiliation	68	7	38	9	106	7
		1064	100	437	100	1501	100

II. *The Different Religious Groups*—Of the fifteen hundred one students, six hundred fifty-eight or forty-four per cent came from homes whose parents were affiliated with an orthodox synagogue and they regarded themselves as orthodox, two hundred seventeen students or fourteen per cent were affiliated with conservative synagogues, five hundred twenty students or thirty-five per cent were affiliated with reform synagogues and one hundred six or seven per cent had no synagogue affiliation. The orthodox group among the men and the reform group among the women have the largest number. Of the ten hundred sixty-four men students, five hundred thirteen or forty-eight per cent are of the orthodox group, one hundred forty-seven students or fourteen per cent are of the conservative group, three hundred thirty-six students or thirty-one per cent are of the reform group and sixty-eight students or seven per cent are without synagogue affiliation. Of the four hundred thirty-seven women students, one hundred forty-five or thirty-three per cent are orthodox, seventy or sixteen per cent are conservative, one hundred eighty-four or forty-two per cent are reform and thirty-eight or nine per cent are without synagogue affiliation.

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION

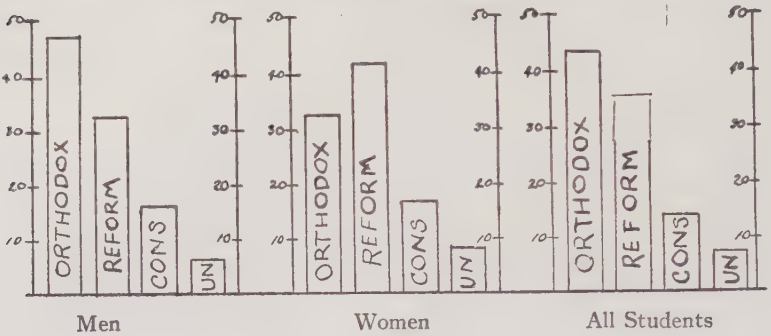

CHART 1

III. *The Year or Class at the University*—Among the fifteen hundred one students in the different classes there were

Freshmen	224 or	15%	
Sophomores	261 or	18%	
Juniors	474 or	33%	
Seniors	402 or	28%	
Graduates	93 or	06%	
Unknown	47 or		03%
		15%	85%

The differences in percentages among the different religious groups of synagogue affiliation in the different classes are insignificant. In the Freshman class, the women students have eleven per cent and the men students have seventeen per cent. The request that only upper classmen be asked to fill out the questionnaire was not completely carried out. As the questionnaires, however, were filled out near the end of the scholastic year, even the freshmen who replied had been living under university influence for nearly a year. Among the respondents, eighty-five per cent had spent nearly two or more years in study on the campus and had been influenced in thought and outlook by their studies, their professors and their environment. (For complete outline see Table III in Appendix.)

IV. *Students in Their Home Cities and Those Away From*

Their Home Cities—In this study, one-third of the students remained in their home cities while two-thirds of them were away from home while pursuing their studies at the university. Of the one-third at home only one per cent lived in small towns. The one-third remaining at home were favored with the continuation of the influence of their parents and home which were steadying factors in carrying over their religious practices and points of view.

Percentages of Students Away from Home

PER CENT	STUDENTS MOVING FROM		STUDENTS MOVING TO	PER CENT
40	Large cities	25%	Large cities	42
27	Small towns	17% 15% 10%	Small towns	25

The two-thirds away from home were thrown back on themselves; they made new contacts that took the place of home associations. They, however, afford the best example of judging as to whether the teachings of the religious school and the home have carried over into university life. Of these sixty-seven per cent away from their home towns, forty-two per cent went to large cities and twenty-five per cent to small towns.

The Percentages of Students Studying in Large Cities and Small Towns

PER CENT	IN LARGE CITIES	IN SMALL TOWNS	PER CENT
32	At home	At home	01
42	Away from home	Away from home	25
74			26

There are seventy-four per cent of the students studying in large cities, and these have the opportunities offered by the many Jewish institutions in these cities, if they desire to avail themselves of them, but twenty-six per cent are in small towns and are denied these advantages.

Among the religious groups of synagogue affiliation the conservatives have the largest number in the large cities, seventy-eight per cent (See Table IV, Section 9 in Appendix.) Though the number is not large, over half, fifty-four per cent of the women from conservative synagogue affiliated families, remain in their home city. The reform synagogue affiliated group have the smallest number at home, twenty-five per cent (Section 1) which means that a larger number go away from their home cities and towns to college. They have the largest number, thirty per cent, attending colleges in the small towns (Section 10). The synagogue unaffiliated group have the largest number, thirty-eight per cent, that remain in their home cities and also the largest number, twenty-two per cent, that come from small towns. (See Table IV, Section 1 and 4.)

V. *The Religious Education of Jewish Students*—The religious schools at which the Jewish students received their religious training, are the Congregational School, including Sunday School, the Talmud Torah and by means of Private Instruction. The congregational schools consist largely of the Sunday schools. The congretational schools of the conservative and orthodox groups have two or more week day sessions in addition to that on Sunday mornings. Those students who had a record of more years' attendance at the Sunday session than at all three sessions were counted among attendants at Sunday school and the others, not large in number, who had a fairly good record of attendance at all three sessions were counted among the attendants at Talmud Torah, with which schools there is a marked similarity in objectives and subjects taught.

The Talmud Torah is a communal institution at which intensive training in Hebrew is given at its five sessions a week held in the afternoons and Sunday mornings. Private instruction consists of the training given by a private teacher who is under no supervisions whatsoever. He either goes to the home of the pupils or instructs them at his own home in classes or individually. The hours are not fixed but usually one or more hours per week of instruction are given. Two-thirds of the students received their religious training from only one of these sources. The remaining one-third obtained their religious instruction from

two and some even from three of these institutions. The students from orthodox homes were the largest in number to attend more than one institution. It was impossible in the tabulations, because of the one-third who received their training from more than one source, to consider the two or three different types of schooling of each student. The school, which the student attended the longest number of years, was selected as the type of religious instruction he received.

There were eighty-seven per cent of the students who received religious instruction. The congregational or Sunday school gave instruction to forty-six per cent or more than half of the students. The Talmud Torah instructed eighteen per cent and those receiving private instruction, twenty-three per cent. The larger number attending Sunday school can be accounted for because firstly there is a generally recognized trend away from the other two types of schools but towards the congregational school and secondly, that which probably causes this is, that most of the parents, that send their sons and daughters to the university or college, are financially able to become affiliated with a congregation.

TABLE VI

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF 1314 STUDENTS WITH DIFFERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION HAVING DIFFERENT DURATIONS OF ATTENDANCE AT THESE SCHOOLS

SECTION	RELIGIOUS SCHOOL	DURATION OF ATTENDANCE		
		UNDER FIVE YEARS	OVER FIVE YEARS	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	Sunday School	227 or 14%	415 or 32%	702 or 46%
2.....	Talmud Torah	140 or 9%	128 or 9%	268 or 18%
3.....	Private Instruction	180 or 12%	164 or 11%	344 or 23%

Of the eighty-seven per cent of the students receiving religious instruction, over one-half of these, that is fifty-two per cent attended one of the religious schools "over five years" and thirty-five per cent attended "under five years." About two-thirds of the students trained at the Sunday school have a record of at-

tendance of over five years. One-half of the students trained at both the Talmud Torah and through private instruction have a record of attendance of "over five years" and one-half, "under five years."

TABLE VII

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION AND HAVING SPECIFIED TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND NO INSTRUCTION

SECTION	TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1....	Sunday School	20	22	45	84	46
2....	Talmud Torah	11	32	18	01	18
3....	Private Instruction	14	37	27	04	23
4....	No Instruction	55	9	10	10	13

1314 or 87% of the students received religious instruction at one of the three types of religious schools.
187 or 13% of the students received no religious instruction.

What proportion of the students from the three groups with synagogue affiliation and of the students with non-affiliation attended the different types of religious schools? There are six hundred forty-eight students in the orthodox group; the largest number or thirty-seven per cent had private instruction, thirty-two per cent attended the Talmud Torah, twenty-two per cent, the Sunday school and about ten per cent had no religious instruction. There are two hundred seventeen students in the conservative group; nearly half or forty-five per cent attended Sunday school, twenty-seven per cent had private instruction, eighteen per cent attended Talmud Torah and ten per cent were without any religious instruction. There are five hundred twenty students in the reform group; over four-fifths or eighty-four per cent attended Sunday school, one per cent attended Talmud Torah, four per cent had private instruction and ten per cent had no religious instruction. There are

one hundred six students with no synagogue affiliation; fifty-five per cent had no instruction while twenty per cent attended Sunday School, fourteen per cent had private instruction and eleven per cent attended Talmud Torah.

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND NO INSTRUCTION

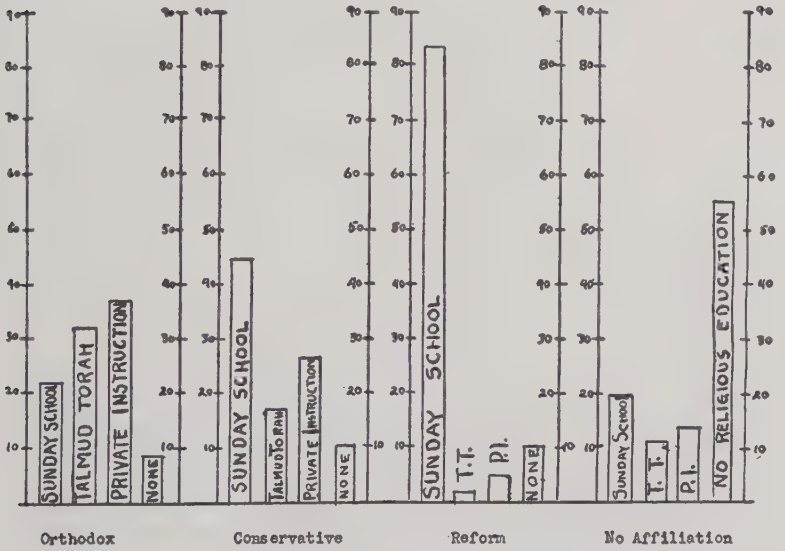

Chart 2.

Over two-thirds of the orthodox group received their religious training through private instruction and from the Talmud Torah, nearly one-half of the conservative group attended Sunday school, over four-fifths of the reform group attended Sunday school and over one-half of the synagogue unaffiliated were without any instruction. There were thirteen hundred fourteen students or eighty-seven per cent of the respondents who had received some religious training. There were one hundred eighty-seven students or thirteen per cent of the respondents who had no religious instruction. This group was made up of ten per cent from each of the orthodox, conservative and reform students

and fifty-five per cent from the synagogue unaffiliated. (See Table VII and Chart 2.)

TABLE VIII

Books Read

Percentages of 1501 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Number of Books of Jewish Interest Read During the Period of Three Years Preceding the Time of Answering the Questionnaire

Section	Number of books read	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	All students
1.....	1 to 3 books	40	28	32	38	33
2.....	3 to 6 books	07	16	16	17	16
3.....	6 to 15 books	08	15	16	07	12
4.....	15 books and over	08	11	06	05	08
5.....	Unknown	38	31	31	34	32

VI. *Books of Jewish Interest Read*—The number of books of Jewish interest, read by the students within a period of three years preceding the filling out of the questionnaire, is not impressive. One-third of all the students, under consideration, marked a cipher or gave no answer, which means that one-third of the respondents read no books during that period. Another one-third read three books or less, which means that two-thirds of the students read three books or less, (See Table VIII). Arranging the percentages another way, we find that eighty per cent of all the students read less than six books of Jewish interest in a period of three years and twenty per cent read more than six books. The students in the orthodox group read more books than the other students. The orthodox group has fifty-nine per cent for three books or less, the conservative group has sixty-three per cent, the reform group has seventy-two per cent and the synagogue unaffiliated group has seventy-eight per cent. The orthodox group has seventy-five per cent for six books or less, the conservative group has seventy-nine per cent,

the reform group has eighty-nine per cent and the synagogue unaffiliated group has eighty-five per cent. The orthodox group has twenty-six per cent for six books and more, the conservative group has twenty-two per cent, the reform group has twelve per cent and the synagogue unaffiliated has sixteen per cent.

Though books in history, religion, literature, philosophy, poetry, fiction, etc., are named, those mentioned most frequently are Goodman's "Jewish History" and Lewis Browne's "Stranger than Fiction." It seems that the reading of these two books was required for initiation into one of the national fraternities. Gratz's "History of the Jews" was noted and Jewish History, the author of which was not given, was named by several. The works of well known Jewish writers such as Israel Zangwell and Ludwig Lewisohn were named and Maurice Samuel's "You Gentiles", and a novel by Leah Morton, "I am a Woman and a Jew", were frequently designated.

TABLE IX

Customs Observed

Percentages of 1486 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Extent of Religious Customs Observed at Home

Section	Extent of religious customs observed in the home	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	All students
1....	Homes in which most of the customs are observed	03	77	40	09	43
2....	Homes in which some of the customs are observed	41	22	56	63	43
3....	Homes in which none of the customs are observed	55	01	04	27	14
4....	Unknown	03	01	01	01	01

VII. *Customs Observed in the Home*—Some of the Jewish ceremonies and customs are observed in eighty-six per cent of the Jewish homes from which these respondents came. In one-half of these homes "Most of these customs" are observed and in one-half "Some of these customs are observed". There was no observance of religious customs in fourteen per cent of these homes. This question received the most responses with only one per cent left unanswered. Most of these customs in the home consist of the religious observances on the Sabbath, the holy days, the holidays and the minor festivals; also the dietary laws, the recitation of personal prayers and the observance of the Yahrzeit, the prayer said on the anniversary of the death of one or both parents, as the case may be.

In the observance of "Most of these Customs," the largest percentage, seventy-seven per cent, would naturally be with the orthodox group and then a descending scale; the conservative group with forty per cent, the reform group with nine per cent and the synagogue unaffiliated with three per cent. There is an ascending scale in the observance of "Some of these Customs" in the first three groups; the orthodox with twenty-two per cent, the conservatives with fifty-six per cent and the reform with sixty-three per cent,[1] while the unaffiliated had forty-one per cent. In the section where the "Non-observance of any Customs" is noted; the orthodox and conservative groups have one per cent and four per cent respectively, a very small percentage, the reform group has twenty-seven per cent and the synagogue unaffiliated group has fifty-five per cent.

In Table X, seventy per cent of the students felt that a satisfactory explanation of the customs and observances was given to them and thirty per cent that the explanation given them was not helpful or adequate. The reform group, with seventy-four per cent had a larger percentage of those satisfied with the explanation given them than the orthodox group with sixty-four per cent and the conservative group with sixty-five per cent.

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[1] The extent of the observance of some of the customs among the reform Jews in large cities, can be seen in the study "Reform Judaism in Large Cities", a Survey in *U. of A. H. Cong.*, pp. 14 and 15.

The reform group had a smaller percentage of customs observed and a larger percentage of satisfactory answers. The students say in answer to Question 26 that the influence of the observance of ceremonies in the home depended on the attitude their parents took towards these customs and the way they were taught to observe them. Reference to this will be made again.

TABLE X

Explanation of Customs

Percentages of 1398 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with Answers as to the Explanation Given of Customs Observed

Section	Satisfactory Explanation of Customs	Students with no Affiliation	Students with Synagogue Affiliation			
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	All Students
1.....	Was given	74	64	65	74	70
2.....	Was not given	27	36	35	26	30
3.....	Unknown	16	04	07	09	07

VIII. *A Select Group*—The respondents who returned their questionnaires constitute a select group and to this fact some consideration must be given. Eighty-six per cent of these students came from homes in which some Jewish customs were observed, ninety-three per cent from families that were affiliated with a synagogue or temple and eighty-seven per cent had received some religious education. It is an accepted fact that from seventy to seventy-two per cent of all the Jewish boys and girls in the United States are given some formal religious training. This applies to children until the age of fourteen. The percentage for the student body, religiously trained, is necessarily larger. It consists of a slightly older group more of whom received this training than those who did not go to college. The parents, who were eager to send their boys and girls to the university to further their secular education, may have shown the same anxiety to give them religious training. That eighty-seven per cent of the respondents received religious education is not

excessive or unusually large and does not warrant the inference that only those with a religious training were interested enough to answer the questionnaire. As there was no special supervision over the students to whom the questionnaires were given, it is to be inferred of course that most of those who responded were naturally interested and had given some thought to the subject. But there is a group among these respondents[2] to whom consideration is given later on, who answered the questions, at least as many of them as they did answer, for reasons other than that of real interest. It is impossible to obtain a clear-cut and complete picture of the students' mental and religious attitude. This study, however, secured the best examples that could be obtained, considering the conditions, and offers a fair representation of the Jewish students' general attitude towards Judaism.

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[2] See p. 50 and p. 51.

DIVISION A

THE GOD IDEA

IV

The Personal Concept of God

There are three divisions to the Factual Data, (A) The God Idea, (B) The Nature and Causes of Change and (C) The Changes in Religious Practices. The God Idea or Division (A) includes four chapters, IV–VII. In Chapter IV, consideration is given first to the students who carried over into the university the personal concept of God taught them at home and at the religious school. In this chapter there is added the Unknown Attitude group, those that left the question, "What is your idea of God?" unanswered. The percentages of this group, in the answers they gave to other questions, are very much like those of the Personal concept of God group. These two groups have so many points in common that it was deemed advisable to include consideration of both of them in this same chapter.

In Chapter V, The Concept of God of the Atheistic group, its statistics, students' opinions and conclusions are given.

Chapter VI, The Impersonal Concept of God has four subdivisions. The negative concepts, (c) the Skeptical and (d) the Agnostic were treated first, with their statistics, students' opinions and conclusions. The positive aspects, (a) the Subjective and (b) the Deistic were then taken up with their statistics, students' opinions and conclusions.

Chapter VII, The General Conclusions of the God Idea has a summary of the several conclusions of each previous chapter on the God Idea. This chapter describes the methods used in the religious schools in teaching the God Idea. It endeavors to account for the trend away from the personal concept of God and attempts to fill in the details of the God concepts that the students are creating for themselves.

While the God idea is a vague and indefinite concept in the minds of most people and difficult to formulate and express, it is nevertheless the fundamental aspect of Judaism about which everything centers and to it rightly, first consideration must be given. The religious ceremonies observed in the Jewish home are symbolic of God's presence there, a reminder of His guidance and help to Israel and mankind. This reminder is stressed every morning, at every meal, on every Sabbath and holiday and on every special religious occasion in those households where most of the customs are carried out. The thought of God is awakened and expressed in those homes where some of the ceremonies are observed, if not every day then possibly on the Sabbath and holidays and surely on the holy days and when special celebrations of a religious nature take place.

The same emphasis on the God Idea permeates the curricula of the religious schools. The Talmud Torah, with its intensive instruction of five sessions a week, four afternoons after secular school hours and on Sundays, devotes itself almost exclusively to instruction in Hebrew for the purpose of enabling the pupils to learn to read fluently, to recite the prayers at home and to participate in the Divine Services at the synagogue. There, the Torah or the five books of Moses and the other books of the Scriptures and some of the commentaries are studied, and advanced pupils are taught to acquire the ability to read and understand the Mishna and Gemorrah which constitute the Talmud. Private instruction in Hebrew has the same objectives as the Talmud Torah but with a very much more limited, educational scope, namely, to teach the Hebrew prayers for the home, the services for the synagogue and the customs and ceremonies. This instruction is often given to prepare boys for the Bar Mitzvah, the confirmation rite on reaching their thirteenth birthday. This is celebrated by having the lad, to be Bar Mitzvah, participate in the Service in the synagogue by reading or chanting in Hebrew, a portion of that service from the Torah and the Prophetical Writings. The lessons are given in groups or privately by teachers, under no supervision, consisting either of elderly men who make it a vocation or of students, well-versed in the Hebrew language, who are working

their way through college. The congregational schools consist either of week day and Sunday sessions in which the training is, in many respects, similar to that of the Talmud Torahs, or just a session once a week, on Sunday mornings. The curriculum of these Sunday morning sessions, called Sunday schools, consists of history, customs and ceremonies, ethics and possibly Hebrew. I am speaking of the Sunday schools up to about the year 1923 or 1924, at which the largest proportion of the respondents received their training. Most of the time is devoted to the teaching of the history of the Jewish people. The method of instruction consists not in reading the Bible in the original or in translation but in using text books containing the stories, the events, the lives of the heroes of biblical times and possibly of later periods. The meaning of the customs and ceremonies is taught to acquaint the child with the religious practices of the home and the synagogue.

The objectives of all religious schools then are to enable the Jewish child to develop an appreciation for his history and literature, to adjust himself to his religion and to live harmoniously with his people. The God Idea is fundamental. Prayer is a communion of man and his Maker, and the Bible and Talmud describe the ways and the will of God as revealed in His written and oral laws. In few, if any instances, is there any formal instruction or interpretation about the God Idea. There is a description rather than an analysis of the concept. The idea is not taught but caught from the spirit of the ceremonies observed in the home, from the emotions awakened by prayers of praise and gratitude and from the narratives of God's relation to the world, to Israel and the nations about them. The personal concept of God thus developed is anthropomorphic. The child forms pictures of the idea in his mind. After all the language of man is the only vehicle by which we can express and explain the thought of God, the Supreme Being; Who speaks to His messengers, Who works by miracles, Who watches and guides; Who rewards and punishes; Who listens to and answers prayer and above all, Who is the creator of the world and of man. This brief description must suffice to convey some idea of the influence of religion and especially of the God concept exerted upon

the thought and life of the growing Jewish children in the Jewish home and the religious schools.

Question 21, "What is your Idea of God? If there Has Been a Change, State Your Earlier View." Ample space was provided for the answer and the opportunity was afforded the student to give full expression to his thoughts. Some found the question too difficult and left the space blank, others gave the required information in a few words or in a sentence or two, while still others wrote at some length, very many of them on a high plane of excellence. With some there was confusion of thought, with others the idea was clearly worked out, well expressed and indicated an ability to understand and to interpret their experience and its relation to reality. The key to the answers provided twenty different categories which were reduced first to six and then to three main headings namely 1, the Personal or Traditional, 2, the Impersonal and 3, the Atheistic concepts.

TABLE XV

IDEA OF GOD

PERCENTAGES OF 1241 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH CONCEPTS OF GOD IN WHICH THEY BELIEVE

SECTION	DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF GOD	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	Traditional	15	39	33	32	33
2.....	Impersonal	73	57	59	63	60
3.....	Atheistic	12	05	08	05	06
4.....	Unknown	19	22	26	26	24

In Table XV the dotted horizontal line between Section 1 and 2 and the dotted vertical line between "Students with No Affiliation" and "Students with Synagogue Affiliation" emphasize the first two important conclusions of the study. Thirty-three per cent of the eleven hundred fifty respondents, who answered

this question, have the personal or traditional concept and sixty-six per cent have either the impersonal or atheistic concept. It is certainly worth noting as the first outstanding conclusion, that while one-third of the respondents have retained the personal concept of God as taught to them at home and in the religious school, the remaining two-thirds questioned or rejected the personal concept of God or developed a new point of view. The orthodox group, who have had a more intensive training at the Talmud Torah and through private instruction and have seen and observed more customs in the home, have a larger percentage than the conservative and reform with practically the same percentage.

The second important conclusion is, that the difference is not between each of the three groups, but the difference is rather, as indicated by the vertical line, between the students with no affiliation on the one side and the students with synagogue affiliation, consisting of the religious groups, on the other, the former with about fifteen per cent, less than one-half of the latter with thirty-four per cent.

In Table XXV, the same dotted lines can be drawn; a horizontal line between Sections 1 and 2, the Personal concept, and the Impersonal and Atheistic concepts; the vertical lines in Columns A, between "No instruction" and the "Types of religious instruction; and in B, between "No instruction" and "Durations of religious instruction." The horizontal line gives the same conclusion as the first one, that one-third of the students have the personal concept of God and two-thirds the impersonal and atheistic concepts. But the vertical lines point to a third conclusion. There is a slight difference in percentages between the different types of religious schools; private instruction and Talmud Torah have a slightly higher percentage for the personal concept of God than the Sunday school. The real difference, however, is between "No instruction" and "The three types of religious schools," the former with twenty-three per cent and the latter with thirty-four per cent. The pupils, who have had the advantage of religious instruction, have been able, to a much larger extent, to retain their belief in the personal concept of God than those with no religious training. The number of years

TABLE XXV

Idea of God

Percentages of 1141 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Concepts of God in which They Believe

Section	Different concepts of God	A: Types of religious instruction					B: Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	Students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Personal concept of God	23	33	36	38	33	23	34	37	33
2.....	Impersonal concepts of God	68	60	57	58	60	68	58	59	60
3.....	Atheistic	09.6	07	07.6	04.5	06	09.6	07.7	04.5	06
4.....	Unknown	20	25	22	23	24	20	23	23	24

of religious training also has its effect (Table XXV, Column B). There is a slightly larger percentage of those with "More than five years' instruction" than for those with "Less than five years'", but students with either, have a much larger percentage than those with "No instruction". Thus both the home environment, as indicated by the religious groups, and religious instruction exert a strong religious influence. But which of the two, home or school, is the more potent? The synagogue unaffiliated have fifteen per cent, the religiously uninstructed, twenty-three per cent. The synagogue unaffiliated have had some religious training in Sunday school, Talmud Torah and private instruction. Those with no instruction, coming from orthodox, conservative and reform groups, have had the advantage of a religious environment at home, (Table VII). More of the religiously untrained have had the benefit of the religious environment of the home than the synagogue unaffiliated (Table IX). The conclusion can be drawn that the home environment exerts a stronger influence than the religious school in enabling the students to retain their hold upon the personal concept of God.

Tables XXXI to XLI, in Series C are tabulated under the heading of the "God Idea". A close examination of them reveals another conclusion, that the column under the Personal concept of God has outstandingly the best record in every table. In carrying over all the religious practices, it has the highest percentages. In the change or break away from these, it has the lowest percentages (Tables XXXV, XXXVI and XXXVII). For "Religion deepened or unchanged," it has by far the largest percentage. In "Doubt, confusion, indifference," or "Disbelief and rejection of religion", it has the lowest (Table XXXVIII). The personal concept of God with its symbol and philosophy constitutes the strongest unifying and conserving group among all the respondents. The three religious groups change as to their standing in the various tables, sometimes one has the better showing, sometimes the second and sometimes the third. The same holds true regarding religious education. Not any group of students either from the Sunday school or the Talmud Torah or private instruction has consistently the highest percentage for continued practice

and belief and the lowest percentage for break away or neglect but sometimes the first group or the second or the third may excel. Most frequently the percentages are much alike. In the Personal concept of God group, however, are to be found most of those students from the three religious groups and from the three types of religious schools with whom the parents and teachers have been successful in attaining their objectives. Many of them carried over into the university the beliefs to which they were urged to hold fast and the observances which they were trained to practice. The belief in the personal concept of God and the continuance of religious practices are very closely bound up together. The religious customs grew out of that faith and belief. The weakening of the one leads to the weakening of the other. Both the religious beliefs and the practices are undermined by the intellectual conflicts with which some students are troubled and by the secular activities and interests in which all of them are absorbed.

II. *What the Students Say*

The ideas of the personal concept of God as expressed by the students are many and varied. They are all based on the anthropomorphic ideas of God as taught in the home and the school. A large majority, if not practically all the students, admit that as children they pictured God in the heavens above as a man of gigantic stature, wearing a long flowing beard and having wings, sitting on a golden throne surrounded by angels, an open ledger in hand, inscribing the good and bad deeds, watching every action, indicating approval and disapproval and meting out reward and punishment to man on earth. God is described in the form of man. He hears and sees, is pleased or is angry. The Bible describes Him that way and so do the home and religious schools conceive Him. This is probably the only way in which language, with its limitations, can describe the conception of a personal God. Though used in a figurative sense, its figurative aspect is lost in the mind of the child who takes the picture and the description in its most literal interpretation. For the child learns the larger truth, not that man is made in God's image but that God is made in man's image. This

anthropomorphic conception is held and maintained by many children until the high school period and many years beyond that time. Some of them do not altogether free themselves of it all through life. These crude expressions of the idea of God generally develop into a more spiritualized concept.

Most of the concepts of God, as expressed by the students, can be classed under four well recognized categories or headings: (1) Attributes of God. At least half of the group who used two or three descriptive words can be brought into this class, as for instance, one God, Supreme Power or Being, omnipotent, omniscient, infinite in scope, mystical, supernatural, center of religion, source of faith, revered, invisible, eternal, conscious Spirit or Power. (2) God's relation to the physical world, as the creating, controlling force of the universe that moulds it to His wishes. (3) God's relation to man, as for instance, everything was planned by God by the time we were born; He has created and put man in the world for a purpose, rules our life, watches over us, sees all and knows all, metes out strict justice, has no favorites, is responsible for everything about us, can cause both good and evil; the spirit that hovers near, Who influences our conduct morally and spiritually, Who exercises profound influence upon our daily life and conduct; the one Friend you can always rely on for comfort; so large that we cannot realize His greatness, yet tiny enough to be in all of us; all in all, incapable of being imagined. (4) Man's feelings toward God, as for instance, to fear, to revere, to love, to worship, to be held responsible; one to whom we must account for our accomplishments on earth; that something which determines right and wrong for man and leads man to acts of charity, kindness and consideration; the divine spark to whom people turn, to whom people try to attach themselves, when looking beyond the world for something finer, something different from everyday life.

Then there is a development from a concept that is strictly traditional to a larger concept in which the attempt is made to assimilate to the older view, some of the ideas of physical and social science.

The Traditional View

"My view is the orthodox God of the Old Testament. The spirit of the Old Testament is part of my being. An analysis of my ideas must come from an accurate study of the Old Testament."

"The thirteen creeds of Maimonides and the traditional view are satisfactory to me."

"In childhood, God was a Spirit whose wrath was aroused by disobedience of traditional law and whose pleasure was confined to observance of traditions and customs, but now He has become an Almighty Spirit revered as a moral guide."

"An Unseen Hand beckons and leads in righteous path. His guidance is the one factor that kept me chained to orthodox view; not questioning his commands, just doing them."

The Composite Conception

"There has been no change in point of view. I know no more now than when a child. People don't have ideas about God, because ideas are based on mental reaction to experience. Emotions keep alive the hope that God exists.'·

"God is over all, evolution and science and universe included. Increasing knowledge increases need of God. True science can do nothing to weaken religion with common sense."

"The personal will of God is revealed through laws of nature. He made them. The system is so arranged that God may sit back and touch the machine to keep it from getting out of order."

Two other aspects might well go together. (1) What might be called dependence on God in which the feeling and attitude change according to circumstances, and (2) What a few students call their belief in two Gods, in dualism or what might be explained as emphasis at different times upon one or the other of two different aspects of the God idea or two different concepts, namely, an impersonal God when all goes well and a personal God in times of need.

Dependence on God

"I doubt God's existence, but in time of distress I pray to Him. I doubt God's existence because of the suffering in the world and of so many beliefs of God in the world without God punishing the one or the other of them, but to believe is no harm and it gives one moral and spiritual comfort.

Belief in Two Gods

"I had the early concept of an old man with typical partriarchal appearance but that disappeared while I was in high school. I began to have a larger indefinite image and reading Bergson and Descartes made it ever larger and vaguer. At present my idea in saner moments is almost that of the high school period; that God is a compelling force that governs the universe and is omnipotent and omniscient but does not know the intimate details of my every day life. However I have to be honest with myself because I cannot fool God. When I rationalize my behavior it may satisfy me but I know God will see through it. And that is because he is omniscient rather than because he takes a personal interest in me. I would like to have a personal God. It would be much more satisfactory but it seems too egotistical to ask that as powerful and all-important a person should take an intimate interest in me as an individual. So I have practically created two Gods, one who is the force behind the cosmic processes and another in whom I can place my own little faith and who is a confidante to whom only the truth can be told. In reconciling the two I must make myself a part of the aggregate and try for some individual attention as one of the mass in whom God is interested, but that does not satisfy and in spiritually low moments I blissfully close my eyes to the God of all the universe and take refuge in the aspect which will most attend to my need--the personal God."

"First I believed that God controls the destinies of mankind. He ordered all things done. If I wanted anything, I would gaze into sky and ask God for it. At high school period I had a more experienced outlook. Things went wrong and then I asked where is God or His angels. One day I believed, next day I was an atheist. I am always on the fence. My belief depends upon circumstances. If there is God why does He permit human beings to suffer tortures of the damned, why does one man have a million and another must sell his life and virtue to keep body and soul together."

III. *Conclusion*

The personal concept of God is the strongest unifying and conserving force about which everything else in this section centers. This is the one outstanding conclusion drawn from the statistics and the opinions of the students. While this concept was taught to practically all the Jewish students, only one-third continued to believe in it and the remaining two-thirds were in doubt about it, rejected it or developed another concept. Over twice as many students, from the homes that are affiliated with a congregation, have the personal concept of God as those

from the homes of the synagogue unaffiliated. A larger number of students with religious instruction have the personal concept of God than those without religious training. The home exerts more influence in strengthening the belief in the personal concept of God than the religious school. This belief in the personal concept of God cuts across the different groups and the different types of religious instruction to form a unifying group of its own that, more than any of the other groups, has consistently the best record for conserving the beliefs and practices taught in the various types of religious homes and schools. A close relationship exists between the personal concept of God and the conserving of the religious practices and beliefs. The change or weakening of this concept is followed by a growing inclination to break away from, or to be indifferent to, these beliefs and practices. Both are undermined by the forces in the environment with which religion tends to clash.

This God concept is carried over in a large number, if not in most instances, without thought or questioning. Often it is an idea held apart from the students' work and studies and hence in little danger of conflicting with the new knowledge acquired at high school or university. If this God concept is rationalized, it changes and develops unconsciously and if it conflicts with the new ideas, the new is somehow assimilated with the old. Implied in this concept is the symbol, the philosophy of God's relation to the world and to man, that He is ever near, that He watches and guides, that He listens to prayer and forgives; a philosophy and symbol that is as unconsciously taken for granted as the concept itself. But the sense of dependence, which is the very essence of this personal concept of God, which was its very strength, has somehow now become in a large measure its weakness. To our fathers it was bound up in their whole life and thought. For us it plays only a small part. In the past when little was known of nature, the sense of uncertainty was always present and from it came the feeling of dependence. In the present, however, man has a larger knowledge of nature and a greater ability to control and predict. Only in times of danger, suffering and loss is the sense of dependence now awakened and the thought of God aroused. The students sense this when they

say, as some do, that their belief depends upon circumstances, that they would have a God for fair weather and a God for storm and stress. But God is called upon only in times of storm and stress. Emphasis is then laid upon what we expect of God and, seldom if ever, upon what God has a right to expect from us. The need is for a larger interpretation, a newer symbol that will call forth our thought, our devotion and loyalty in the days of comfort, happiness and prosperity as well as in the times of suffering and loss, that will hold us equally responsible with God for the building of a better order and a better world. To this the study will make further reference in the General Conclusion in Chapter VII.

The Unknown Attitude Towards God

In Tables XXXI to XLI, Series C, The God Idea, the striking resemblances between the "Personal concept of God" group, in the first column and the "Unknown attitude towards the God concept" group, in the last column make it advisable to treat the Unknown group at this point. The Unknown group of about three hundred sixty or twenty-four per cent, rather a large number, constitutes the group that left the God idea question unanswered, that were unwilling or unable to fill it out.

This marked resemblance is indicated in the tables in its high record in conserving Jewish beliefs and practices. The standing of the Unknown attitude towards God group is second to that of the Personal concept of God group. In the "Frequent or occasional practice of the customs", noted in the tables and in the "Deepening of religion", it stands second highest. In the matter of "Confusion or rejection", it stands second lowest, but in the intellectual problems that upset religious thought and in finding religion inadequate, it stands lowest, with the Personal concept of God, second. (Tables XXXVIII and XXXIX).

Another aspect that must be pointed out is that in the Tables in Series C, this column, the Unknown attitude towards God concept group, has the largest percentage of, not known, or unanswered, on every question in the study. In the question in which only a check was asked the difference is small; in the questions in which an expression of opinion is required, the

difference is large. In the tables on the "Nature of Change" and the "Causes of Change" the percentage of the Unknown attitude towards God group, is twice as large as that of the percentage for all students. (Tables XXXVIII and XXXIX). And it might be mentioned incidentally that in these two tables, the next large percentage as to unanswered questions is the column of the Personal concept of God group. Both the Unknown attitude towards God concept column and the Personal concept of God column that have the highest record for continuing the beliefs and practices also have the highest percentage in the disinclination to answer the questions pertaining to the "Nature and Causes of Change" through which their attitude and feelings have passed. The Unknown attitude towards God concept group, has twice as high a percentage as the Personal concept of God group.

III. *Conclusions*

This column, the Unknown attitude towards God concept group, will compel us to modify the statement that it is only from the replies of a select group, from those who were interested, that this study was made. This body, large in number, consisting of twenty-four per cent, nearly one-quarter of the entire group, answered the questionnaire, in so far as they did answer at all, from other motives than that of interest. Their questionnaires indicate that they were either unwilling or unable to reply to the questions put to them. Probably some had promised to fill out their questionnaire and then instead of throwing it into the waste basket or forgetting about it as others did, they answered as they promised to do. The professor or more likely the student in charge of the work, desiring to make a fair return urged the students in question, as a favor to him or by reason of the influence he could exert or the pressure he could bring to bear, persuaded or forced the prospective respondent to make his return. Then hurriedly and with as little effort and time as possible this respondent answered the questions which only required a check and left blank those which required the expression of his views or opinions because he found no ready answer or had not of late thought much about the matter. Either

indifference, the wish to rid himself of the task as quickly and easily as possible, or inability to answer the questions when confronted squarely with the need or desire to do so, or a combination of both, must account for the large number in this column who left the important questions unanswered.

The second inference of interest comes from the fact that this Unknown attitude towards God concept column was in practice and belief very much in sympathy with, and in so many respects similar to, the Personal concept of God group. Though they did not fill in the answer to the question, "What is your concept of God?" they did tell what their religious practices were, with the creditable showing next to that of the Personal concept of God group. And with the same indifference, half of them indicated neither the "Nature nor Causes of Change" of their attitude because these required an expression of opinion. But the remaining half, with nearly as large a percentage as the Personal concept of God group, believed that their religion had deepened or remained unchanged; that they were not disturbed much by confusion or doubt; that they were not troubled much with intellectual conflict and that they did not find the customs of religion inadequate. The observance of religious customs then must have been carried over as a result of habit, as a matter of course, to which they had given little or no thought, and in their attitude or change of attitude, there was but little, if any questioning, doubt or intellectual conflict, for they had not thought the matter over either long or seriously. If a marked similarity in practice and belief exists between the two groups, will not a likeness be found in thought and outlook? May not the attitude of both groups which they are disinclined to indicate or explain, be characterized by a lack of thinking, questioning, or intellectual conflict? This too, they may have in common. The symbol and philosophy of God's relation to man and to the world, unconsciously associated with the personal concept of God, which for others is unsatisfactory, they find adequate and to it they give, without thought, some, and possibly a full, measure of loyalty and devotion.

V

Atheistic Concepts of God

Consideration is given to the views of the students who classify themselves as Atheists and who explain that they mean by Atheism a rejection of the personal concept of God.

I. *Statistics*

This study reveals that there is not much atheism among the Jewish students at college. In all there were seventy-three students of the fifteen hundred one respondents or six per cent who maintain that they are atheistic. The figures are so small that much weight cannot be given to the differences of percentages that are found among the groups. A vertical line can be drawn again between the three religious groups with synagogue affiliation, and the unaffiliated that have twice the percentage of all students. (Table XV, Section 3.) Another vertical line can be drawn between the groups with religious education and those without religious education. (Table XXV, Section 3.) In Column B, the difference is marked for there a descending scale is found; ten per cent for "No training," eight per cent for "Less than five years" of training and four per cent for "More than five years" of training. The women students are more inclined to atheism than the men. In comparing the synagogue unaffiliated with twelve per cent and the religiously untrained with ten per cent, the conclusion can be drawn that the home influence develops less atheism than the religious school training.

In religious practices the Atheistic group, in practically all instances, is found at directly the opposite extreme from that of the Personal concept of God group. For "Continued observance throughout all educational periods" and in "Religion deepened or unchanged" the Personal concept of God group has always the highest percentage, the Atheistic group, the lowest. In the case of "No practice" at all, or of "Intellectual conflict" or of the "Rejection of religion" or of the belief in the "Inadequacy of religion", the Atheistic group has the largest

percentage, the Personal concept of God group, the lowest. The one exception is the "Increase of Bible study" in which, strange to say, the Atheistic with thirty-eight per cent has the highest standing. The women have the largest percentage of "Increase in Bible study" in the university. The large percentage of "Increase in Bible study" can be accounted for by the fact that courses in Bible study are required in many colleges for women. There is no connection between the "Increase in Bible study" in the universities and atheism as will be shown in Chapter XII, the section on "Bible Study". But this must be pointed out that just as there is a marked relation between both the high percentage of consistent religious observance and low percentage of intellectual conflict and the personal concept of God, so there must be a marked relationship between the low percentage of consistent religious observance and high percentage of intellectual conflict and the atheistic point of view. The destroying of the influence of the symbol which stands for the personal concept of God results in the weakening of religious practices and the increasing of doubt and confusion.

II. *What the Students Say*

Much as we may learn from the figures, results of even greater value can be obtained in examining the expression of opinion by the students as to what they mean by atheism and how they reached that point of view. (1) The reason, given most frequently among men and women of all the religious groups which explain most clearly the whys and wherefores of atheism among students, is a disbelief in, and a rejection of, the personal concept of God as taught in childhood, at home and in the religious school.

"I lost my belief in God in the understood meaning of the word."

"I rejected the belief in God because of the earlier view taught. If I want to thank God I want to thank a kind and not a jealous, vengeful God."

"The God idea would not expand, hence my Atheism."

"My change was from a strong belief that God grants what one asks of Him to Atheism because the belief is not true."

"I accepted everything on faith, I took the word of my parents for it. If some all powerful Being is too blind to good as well as to evil, then that is not

in accord with the idea of a good God. I think little or nothing about the possibility of his existence."

"There is no God such as religion conceives Him. There can be no compromise about a force for good. The invention of the idea and adherence to it, exhibit weakness of character."

"The earlier view, not mine, that I accepted is buncombe; it was forced upon me by my elders and my mother."

"I have no belief. I am against the anthropomorphic idea taught to me in Sunday school. By means of the results of personal experience and thought, I manage to find support and religion in other ways."

"I don't see how anyone with intelligence can have such a view as I had when young—a superhuman power able to shape our end. We are our own masters."

Other causes for atheism were given much less frequently and on the whole must be considered of secondary importance.

(2) There is no proof.

"Belief in God is an illusion. There is no use in prayer to something of which you have no proof. Science is our most expedient weapon, though I take with reservation what science has taught."

(3) There is no need.

"Law means more than God. Everything operates in conformity with certain unexplainable laws which I hesitate to describe. There never was any need for such an agency to exist, a being that is an omnipotent ruler."

"At first I believed in an all Powerful, Holy Being who guides and forgives; now I have a strong belief in the futility of describing God. World and history are more perfectly explained by means of science. Morality is a matter of decency to our fellow man and God as a figure is unnecessary as a means of persuading us to do good."

(4) Complete denial

"I passed through the changes from anthropomorphism to theism to God to pure spirit, a word which now I consider meaningless, to pantheism and then to atheism. Pantheism carried to logical conclusion, culminates in Atheism."

III. *Conclusions*

The six per cent of atheism indicates a remarkably small proportion of students with this point of view, and even their

attitude is not one of complete atheism. Not the denial of a God in general but the denial of the personal concept or idea of God taught to them, is the kind of atheism which is revealed in most of the views of the students but which could not have been inferred from just the statistics. "If this is what you mean by God," the students say, having in mind of course the concept caught from the environment of custom and practice and taught by parent and teacher, "we will have none of it." Of what to them were the only alternatives, those between the personal concept of God as taught and no God at all, they chose no God. For them the God concept was definite and fixed. To expand, to modify, to develop the idea, to change it in any way would mean to destroy it. That they had not been taught the growth of the God idea, they clearly indicated in their answers. Two other kinds of replies lend further evidence to justify this conclusion. In at least three questionnaires, the students refuse to accept the biblical or the anthropomorphic idea of God but they do not give any name to their point of view. On another paper the student calls himself an atheist because he cannot accept the idea taught him and then goes on to express his belief in a power directing the forces of nature, It can be said, at all events, that these students were thinking for themselves. Their questioning the religious ideas acquired in childhood results in their finding many of them inadequate and unsatisfying and ends in their rejecting a large part of them. Their answers to the question, the "Causes of change", further on in the questionnaire, indicate this very clearly. The concepts of religion are bound to break down for these very reasons. There is confusion in the mind, arising from a lack of understanding of the purpose and meaning of their religious beliefs and practices. There is the suspicion that these beliefs do not harmonize nor fit in with modern thought. There is an inability to grasp fully the value of the influences with which they are surrounded. It is more than likely that with the proper guidance, these same students could have been aided in developing larger, more acceptable and more satisfying concepts of God and of Judaism.

The very low percentages of the Atheistic group in the observances of the customs confirms the conclusion drawn in the

previous section that if a very close relationship exists between the personal concept of God and a reasonably fair amount of religious practice, then the questioning of the former, will result in the weakening or breaking down of the latter. The atheism, expressed by the students, is a denial, not of God, but of the personal concept of God, and with that denial goes the complete breakdown in religious practices.

VI

The Impersonal Concepts of God

The third and largest part of the replies, about sixty per cent, gives expression to what is called "Impersonal concepts of God". Despite all the differences in the God concepts, the students seem to agree, in a large measure, in their opposition to the personal concept of God. This is divided into four Sections, the two positive, (a) the Subjective and (b) the Deistic or Force in Nature, and the two negative (c) the Skeptical and (d) the Agnostic. The line of division is still drawn between the students with no affiliation and those with synagogue affiliation, the former group with seventy-three per cent, the latter with sixty per cent. In the Religious Educational Tables the line is again drawn between the group with no religious education and the groups with the different types of religious education, the former with sixty-eight per cent the latter with sixty per cent.

The Skeptical and the Agnostic

The Skeptical and the Agnostic, the two negative Sections, will be studied first and then the Deistic and Subjective, the two positive Sections of the Impersonal concepts of God.

The Skeptical

I. *Statistics*

In the Skeptical column, the Sunday school has the largest percentage, especially in the "Less than five year" period, the one instance in which the percentage of a religious school is larger than that of "No religious education". It might well be concluded that the influence of the Sunday school has a marked tendency to develop a skeptical point of view: all the women students in all three religious groups have a higher percentage in the Skeptical point of view section than the men students. And most of the women from each group attended Sunday school.

In the Tables of Series C, the students of the Skeptical or Doubtful group vacillate between the Atheistic and Agnostic columns which have the lowest percentage for religious practices and the Personal concept of God column which has the highest. In some instances it stands equidistant between the two extremes. It stands nearest the low percentage with the Atheistic and Agnostic groups in continued practice throughout all educational periods. It has the lowest percentage with the Personal concept of God group in intellectual conflict, dissatisfaction with or inadequacy of Judasism.

II. *What the Students Say*

The thoughts expressed by students can be placed under three headings—(1) Doubtful or skeptical of their earlier idea of God; (2) Confused as to the idea of God and (3) No idea but open to conviction.

(1) Doubtful or skeptical of their earlier idea of God.

"I had been taught that there was an omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient Being to whom I must be grateful for every pleasant aspect of my life and toward whom I must not feel resentful for the unpleasant things. This was a comparatively easy way of looking at the question and without thinking greatly about it, I blindly believed the things I had been told. When other people were doubtful I believe I was very much shocked and a bit sorry because I wondered what one should do when he needed to call on someone in the abstract and yet had no faith.

"I cannot account for the change in my views except perhaps for the fact that I thought more deeply when I entered college—I cannot adhere to facts and declare myself all agnostic at the same time because when one has unthinkingly accepted a belief for sixteen or seventeen years, it is rather impossible to find oneself perfectly comfortable even at the sudden breaking off from that belief. From force of habit, I believe in God. I doubt if for any other reason. As for myself, I have had an extremely fortunate life and I bear no bitterness toward the world which might cause me to lose faith but I have read of enough suffering and heard enough dogmatic utterances that 'it is for the best', and so forth to become disgusted with such a blind faith, accepted simply because one must rely on something for the marvel of this world and it is too uncomfortable not to believe in God and perhaps too disturbing and mysterious. It is so easy to say 'God is the creator of all these marvels; He

makes more of them possible'. Voila! No explanations or perplexing worries are necessary. Perhaps I exaggerate but my feelings are probably in a transitional state at present and this is possibly not a definite attitude on the whole."

"I have no concept of God—religion was confined to pure dogmas, forced upon me by religious instructors."

"My earlier view was that God ruled and watched, that good and bad was recorded and that He dealt out justice as he saw fit. Now—all is a question."

"My earlier view was an all Supreme Power. My present ideas and ideals are torn asunder and my present views are not clear even to myself."

"My earlier view was that God marked all imperfections on a page and reserved punishment for me unmercifully. He tore the page out after the Day of Atonement if I went to synagogue. Now I don't know."

(2) Confusion about idea of God.

"I cannot explain my ideas. I am confused about the spirit behind everything, but I felt that God was unjust. My mother died and left three children, nine, seven and five years old. I am confused at present and cannot explain."

"I hesitate to believe God is a person who determines every action."

"My thoughts are in the process of change and I am confused about God."

(*d*) *The Agnostic*

I. *Statistics*

The Agnostic group is just as small as the Atheistic. It includes seventy-seven students or six and one-half per cent.

In the Tables of Series C, it is found that the Agnostic group has practically the same percentages as the Atheistic group. As to the continued observance of the customs, the percentages of both are the lowest and in the break away or "No practice of customs" they are the highest. It has a larger percentage than even the Atheistic group in "Doubt, confusion, intellectual conflict" or belief in the "Inadequacy of Judaism". If the standing of the Personal concept of God, is at one extreme, that of the Agnostic and Atheistic is at directly the opposite extreme.

II. *What the Students Say*

There are two aspects to the way in which the students express their agnostic point of view, (1) Protest against the personal

concept of God, the view taught in the religious schools, and (2) Inability to understand or to prove the God idea.

(1) The protest against the personal concept.

"At first I believed in a physical being visiting lasting punishment on the violation of law. Now I have a hazy view passing to agnosticism."

"From childish belief I passed to complete skepticism or rather agnosticism. I have no definite idea, complete ignorance."

"I am complete agnostic. I only know I believe Him to be an omnipotent force rather than an all good one. He is not personal, but some force working through nature. At first as child I believed God an obliging man, who protects me from thunder and lightning when I pray during storm."

"I am agnostic. If there is God, I should not worship the Old Testament Jehovah of wrath and vengeance."

"I do not believe in the Old Testament God. If there is any other I do not know. As I have no answer to the question my attitude is agnostic but rather belief in disbelief.

"I am antagonistic to the accepted belief in God as expressed in religion; I became atheistic or at least agnostic, as I could not accept the Bible with my knowledge of science. With education the problem is clearing. There is no particular kind of God as human or spirit always present as comforter or soother. I am not religious, but think much about the subject.

(2) Inability to prove the God idea.

"My inability to understand or to prove some one no one knows the true facts about; no one can explain there is a God, hence agnostic."

"I have no idea, I refrain from forming an idea of God, I deal only with those matters that lend themselves to the grasp of the mind."

"Despite my repeated research in philosophy or literature, I cannot grasp what is commonly called God. God is indefinable, mystical, beyond the sphere of understanding."

III. *Conclusions*

The two negative Sections, the Skeptical with fourteen per cent, the Agnostic with seven per cent, together with the Atheistic with six per cent, are the smallest groups. Both the Skeptical and the Agnostic groups have read more books of Jewish interest than the Atheistic group. The Skeptical group has the largest percentage of all the groups for from six to fifteen books of Jewish interest

read and the Agnostic group the largest percentage of all the groups for fifteen and more books. In this respect, however, all three groups are alike in that they are dissatisfied with, and have broken away from, the personal concept of God as expressed in the Bible and as taught in the home and the religious schools. The Skeptical group was not as extreme, nor did it make the mistake of which the majority of the Atheistic group was guilty, namely, that to deny the traditional idea of God was equivalent to denying the existence of God altogether. That there was a God they believed; they could not accept the older view but they were unable or unwilling to formulate a larger concept. They were open to suggestions. They were seeking and in all probability willing to accept aid in the reconstruction of the God idea. The Agnostic group had read more and, we might add, had thought more than the other two groups and though wise, were probably not quite wise enough. They went beyond the point of view of both groups. That there was a God they did not question but an Infinite Being, man with his finite limitation was incapable of imaging. To describe Him or to understand Him was beyond their comprehension.

The two negative groups strengthen still further the contention that the continued observance of religious practices is closely bound up with the personal concept of God. As the Skeptical and the Agnostic groups do not find the personal concept of God, as taught to them, satisfying or adequate, discontinuance seems inevitable. In the break away from, and the indifference to, religious customs both lean towards the Atheistic group, the Agnostic going much further than the Skeptical. While the Skeptical group leans toward the Personal concept of God group in intellectual conflict and the belief in the inadequacy of Judaism, the Agnostic group goes beyond the Atheistic in these two aspects, it has in fact the largest percentages of all the groups.

(*A*) *The Subjective and* (*B*) *The Deistic*

The Subjective and Deistic are the two positive aspects of the larger group, the Impersonal concept of God. The names do not describe completely or adequately the concepts formulated by the students. At best they are suggestive. The concepts,

that describe God as a product of the human mind, such as conscience, or as the ultimate expression of self in its highest and finest capacity, or as ideals, were termed Subjective. The concepts which describe God as Force in Nature, as nothing but an explanation of phenomena, as a mechanism and as pantheism, were called Deistic. They are the two larger columns in the Impersonal God group, the Subjective with seventeen per cent and the Deistic, the largest, with twenty-two per cent.

I. *Statistics*

In the Subjective Section the difference between the students with no affiliation and the students with synagogue affiliation disappears. The reform group has a larger percentage than the synagogue unaffiliated group. In the religious school groups, the percentages are about the same. In the Deistic Section, the difference practically disappears between no instruction and the different types of religious instruction. (Tables XV and XXV, Section 2a and 2b.) These facts may be interpreted to mean that those students with no religious training find it easier to be creative and to develop a new concept of God than the students with religious instruction. The conclusion can be drawn that neither the home nor the religious schools contribute any aid in the constructing of the newer and larger concepts of God.

In religious practices the Subjective and Deistic concept groups are more like the Agnostic and the Atheistic than the Personal concept of God group. The Deistic group is more radical than the Subjective. In the break away from the religious practices, in the attitude of doubt, intellectual confusion and belief in the inadequacy of Judaism for present day living, these columns approach nearer to the Agnostic and the Atheistic than to that of the Personal concept of God. These students are as dissatisfied with the personal concept of God as all the others in the Impersonal or Atheistic concept groups. They too manifest an unfavorable attitude towards worship and private prayers at home and express a strong protest against organized religion. They have developed a new concept and have a positive point of view. They do not therefore go to the extreme of the Agnostic and the Atheistic groups.

II. *What the Students Say*

(A) Subjective.

This is divided into (1) The Product of the human mind, (2)—(a) Conscience, (b) Ultimate expression of self in its fullest capacity, (c) Ideals, (3) Combined ideals of humanity.

1. Product of Human Mind.

"God is a piece of fiction necessary to inspire fear or respect for morals in the ignorant."

"God is a dispenser of forgiveness created by superstitious for some in moments of weakness."

"The God idea is a good thing to help keep the illiterate and those of low understanding on right moral path through fear and superstition."

"God is the intellect. My idea merely a growth."

"God is a personally inspired guide or idea manufactured by the individual. Heretofore I had no idea. That was the reason I went to Temple."

"God is what the individual person makes Him, hence within the grasp of everyone."

"God is the soul of the universe and a minute conception exists in human mind."

"God became less and less personal. He is a concept and the realization is purely subjective in every individual."

"God is the product of living man. Belief in God is the answer most of us give in time of need. My earlier view was that of a friend and confident."

"God is my very own and no one shares Him with me. He is what one comes to make Him, Nature, love, war, etc."

"God is mind of mind, is life."

"God is power beyond comprehension, perhaps a mental condition, but power nevertheless."

"Each creates his God either a human being or inanimate or a deified concept. At first God was nature."

"God is the memory of the certain dead whom I respect. The immortal influence of my own memory."

"God is a convention."

"At first the Supreme Power of all activity and life. Now an ideal to be found in the mind of believer."

"God is the individual soul."

"God is doing right. In my early view God was like man. He looked over and watched over doings. Now by doing right, you get much happiness and

satisfaction and do not need to keep the idea of one holy Being foremost in your mind."

2. (a) Conscience.

"At first I believed in a Supreme Being who in wrath punished the wrongs to his devoted. Now God is conscience, the desire and willingness to be of benefit to the community."

"God is the Supreme Being, lodging in what we call conscience, a force that leads us to do good and to benefit others. At first I was skeptical, but philosophy brought me to the above view."

"God is conscience, one prays to his conscience."

"When I had no idea of God I thought going to Service enough. Now God is that something that makes me want to live and conquer, not a being nor a symbol but something within me. There is no need of worship, except to recognize this principle."

"God is conscience and power in yourself that give you faith and hope in ultimate good."

"God is within us to do as we deem best, the spirit of good pervading man. No fear of being punished, if we do wrong."

"God is a spiritual mirror that reflects the differences between right and wrong and that guides my life every moment."

"God is my ideal of moral ideals, within myself and made by myself, unlike anything else. Punishment is like that of social custom rather in ourselves than in another force or individual. The God concept is necessary for the masses of people to control them but for the individual He is only a moral concept. At first I believed in glorified mother and father watching and punishing."

(b) Ultimate expression of self in its finest capacity.

"God is the best in man and nature."

"God is my ideal which I am to attain—something to put your trust in so you may have power to be what you have set out to become."

"God is the height of individual, moral and spiritual attainment."

"God is the innate love for the good and beautiful, something that urges the expression of the best and most desirable, the spirit that carries us to our ultimate goal of infinite good and accomplishment."

(c) Ideals

"God is personification of a spirit power, never to be attained but something to aspire to and to work for."

"God is all that is inspiring, all beauty and goodness conceivable, a force within and without us, making for order, a force of the world, and we are the transmitters of it."

"God is Truth, Beauty, Goodness. What are they?"

"High standard of moral life would make each man his own God."

"Anything ideal has sense of godliness."

"God is my belief in fair play."

"I have no exact concept. I often think of God as a symbol of the highest state of morality."

"My idea is that man created God as the standard of the moral codes embodied in the Bible. To my mind the Bible has outlived its usefulness. Home is the place to teach the distinction between right and wrong. That is what religion attempts to define,—God is abstract and religion is your home."

3. Combined Ideals of Humanity.

"God is the name given to the sum total of all my views of ethics and morals and in general opinions, on man's standards of perfection. At first God was personal."

"God is the summation of ideals, a master ideal as a symbol of the highest state of morality."

"The Supreme Power is the consummation of all the good and noble in the universe around us and in nature and in our every pulse beat, if one realizes and visualizes the ultimate good."

(*B*) *Deistic or Force in Nature*

In this category are to be found (1) the Force in Nature (a) Against the personal concept of God, (b) God in nature, and (c) God nothing but explanation of phenomena, (2) Pantheistic, and (3) Mechanistic.

(1) Force in Nature.

(a) Against the personal concept of God.

"Formerly I believed in Moses' description of God on Mt. Sinai, now I cannot conceive of a personal God in whose form man was made. Yet some Power is responsible for the conduct of the world."

"There must be a motivating force which impartially starts things but there can be no good or evil or chosen people idea."

"God is no personal but rather a system or power."

"My earlier view was the conventional, biblical conception. Now God is the entity of all existence."

"God is the creator but not the ruler, one who began the world and man and then lets them shape their own destinies."

"I have a queer feeling in discussing this subject. There is a power that makes the world go along at the present rate of progress. This power does not work with the individual but with the world and the world works with the individual."

"At first I believed in authority but now in a controlling force that is scientific for everything. There are no miracles."

"At first God was a person. Now God has become a thought or force behind the universe. There is no conflict between force and science.

(b) God in Nature.

"At first God was one who entered and recorded every personal act. Now God is universal force or controller of universe. His ways are with the universe and not with the individual. The individual has to work out his own salvation. I have not been struck dead for any misdeed."

"From guiding deity to but a force moving and vitalizing the world."

"God is the unusual unifying element of nature."

"At first God was an invisible power or divine. Now He is the combination of natural forces of nature."

At first God was personal and moral. Now He is the general force operating universe of which the soul i.e. one's best feelings and impulses are a manifestation and part."

"At first God was like man. Now He is force like Berkson's 'elan vital', common to all humanity."

"At first God was a protecting father. Now He is the creator of a mass of force and laws etc. but outside of natural creation He plays no part in nor acts upon it in any way."

"At first God was the supreme master. Now, He is the universal whole. Everything is a part of God or Universe. The greater one's knowledge and mind, the nearer one arrives at an attainment of the whole. Humans have limitations and can't reach the ideal of God but that task is not hopeless because beyond the degrees of reach that one has, there is something more to attain."

"At first God was father and creator to whom we were responsible for all our actions, now, He is the force or energy that impels all beyond our ken."

"At first I believed God as distinct anthropomorphism. Now God is the personification of laws of compensation, of action followed by reaction, manifested in law of physics and moral retribution."

"God is the universe, guided by an established order, not apart from it. At first I believed in soul, Bible and supreme Jehovah."

"At first I believed God created the world. Now I believe the world created God, and represents what I call nature or the natural forces which I am unable to explain. My behavior, conduct and attitude are not influenced by the absence or the presence of the spiritual part of God. His presence in this and the consequences in the after-life which are of tremendous influence for masses, —have no meaning for me."

(c) God as nothing but an explanation of phenomena.

"What I cannot explain, I assign to some unknown thing, God. Nature and everything is God. Nothing can be proved as absolutely true or to exist."

"God is nothing but the explanation of phenomena, as the creation of living things. God is not responsible for our well being nor does he reason with us for our sins. Individual acts are guided by the environment and society in which we live and not by the Supreme Being. At first I thought of God as an Almighty Being, a view I held until a few years ago."

"Lack of a satisfactory explanation of life or the universe makes us seek refuge in the word God."

(2) Pantheism.

"God is so great that every atom of the universe reflects his presence."

"I have a vague idea of a super thing, an omnipotent spirit pervading every deed and thought, that one cannot escape in waking or sleeping hours."

(3) Mechanism.

"As a child I was an intensely religious person. I believed in God and fatalism. Now I am a thorough going mechanist. There is no place for a God of any sort. This change is due to study and thinking not due to the radical ideas picked up quickly at my age. I am long past that stage."

III. *Conclusion*

Of all the respondents, sixty-six per cent, constituting the Atheistic and the Impersonal concepts of God groups agree in this, that they doubt or reject the personal concept of God. At least three-fifths of them were not satisfied with a mere negation but moved on to the reconstruction of what they considered a newer and larger concept of God. These I would call the students with a constructive and creative point of view, the most hopeful of the entire group. They do believe in God, that is the all important point; that their ideas may differ, is of

secondary consideration. This diversity of concepts exists as widely among adults as among students. These students did not accept simply what was told them but they developed their own concept, worked it out for themselves. They deduced and learned from their own experience that the God idea is a concept, the product of the human mind, implying that there is something in reality that corresponds to this concept. Those of the Deistic conception find God in nature, in all its manifestations, in the force moving and vitalizing the universe, in Berkson's "elan vital", in the universal unifying element of nature, in the personification of the laws of nature or in the laws directing nature and helping man to work out his own salvation, aided by environment and society. In the Subjective viewpoint is to be found in some cases, an intimation, in others, the full expression of the best intellectual, moral and social concepts of God, prevalent today. God is an idea, a concept, developed by the mind in interpreting reality, a spirit within us, encouraging us to develop the highest ideas and ideals and urging us to realize them; the ultimate expression of the self in its finest capacity; the symbol of the highest state of morality, of the combined ideals of humanity. Some of the students may be confused in their ideas, some may be at the beginning of the development of their new concepts without their perceiving the conclusion to which they may lead or the implications of their thoughts. But whatever their shortcomings, it is a strong manifestation of an eager desire to seek and to find God; a clear indication of an ability to meditate on religious questions and to solve religious problems. This development did not come primarily from the religious training in the home or in the religious schools. There they were taught only one concept, the personal concept of God and that, without any intimation about the possibility of growth, development or change of this concept. The substance of their concepts may have come from their environment, from suggestions overheard, from the books they read, from the knowledge they acquired, from their attempt to harmonize religion with science and their own experience, from the endeavors of thinking out these problems for themselves. Without guidance or direction from the religious school or the university but

groping in the dark, as it were, these students have woven the new material of this knowledge and experience into a conception of God which has become thought of their thought and spirit of their spirit, and they have unquestionably experienced a spiritual joy in the process. These students have the possibilities of further development along Jewish lines. They have been creative in the development of a God concept, more satisfying to their way of thought and experience. With proper guidance and direction they might be encouraged to attempt to think out, and to work out, a religious practice which will accord with their larger concept. The religious customs and ceremonies grew out of the needs of the time in which the Jew lived. They must still be practiced to preserve the existence and unity of Israel. Much that is poetical and no end of sentiment can still be found in them. As they are inadequate, however, for the larger needs of our day, new symbols and new interpretations must develop. To the Jewish student, as well as, if not more so than to, all Jewish youth, fall the privilege and the duty to aid in the development of these symbols and ideas that are expressive of the larger hopes and the greater responsibilities of our people and our faith today.

VII

General Conclusions of the God Idea

The discussion of the God idea centers about the personal concept of God. In both Tables XV and XXV, a horizontal and a perpendicular line were drawn; the horizontal to divide off the Personal concept of God section, which constituted one-third of the answers, from the Impersonal and the Atheistic sections, the remaining two-thirds. The perpendicular line divided (1) between the three religious groups or the synagogue affiliated and the synagogue unaffiliated (Table XV) and (2) between those religiously trained and those untrained (Table XXV). The religious environment of the Jewish home, produced by the observance of religious customs, and the training in the different types of religious schools, through their respective curricula and objectives, develop and strengthen in the minds of the children the personal concept of God, so that at least one-third of them carry it over into student days at the university. This personal concept of God is the most unifying and conserving element found in the study. It cuts across both the three religious groups, orthodox, conservative and reform and the different types and periods of religious school instruction, to form a unifying group which, more than any other, carries on the religious practices and beliefs taught in the home and school. The conclusion was drawn, in comparing the percentages of the Synagogue unaffiliated group with the No religious instruction group, that the home environment has a stronger influence than the religious school training in strengthening the personal concept of God. This inference is strengthened by the fact that the home environment is more continuous, more direct, more personal. Many students, as we shall see later, continue their religious observances because of the respect for, or the promise to carry on the practice given to, their parents.

The two-thirds of the respondents under the horizontal line, the Impersonal and the Atheistic sections agree in this, that they find inadequate, break away from, or deny the value of, the

personal concept of God. Most of the questionnaires state clearly and unmistakenly that dissatisfaction and denial. The Skeptical group starts and ends with skepticism. They can no longer accept the personal concept of God but do not know what to put in its place. The Atheistic group consider themselves atheistic but not with the connotation usually given that term. They deny not the existence of God but the existence of the personal concept of God as taught in the home and the school, and to them that is the end of the problem. The Agnostic group rejects the personal concept of God but feels that while there is a God, to know Him is beyond human comprehension. The Subjective group draws its material for reconstruction from the morals and ideals of man and society and the Deistic group, the largest group of the four subdivisions, from the ideas of experience, nature and science.

The personal concept of God and the religious practices are closely tied up together, and the extent and continuance of these religious practices are intimately bound up with the acceptance of the personal concept of God and of the symbol and philosophy that it implies. In the Tables of Series C, the Personal concept of God column has the highest percentages for the continuance of the religious practices; the smallest for the breaking away from religious practices, for intellectual conflict and dissatisfaction, the rejection or inadequacy of Judaism. The Unknown attitude towards God column, stands nearest to it, justifying the inference that, though no answer was given this question, the replies to the other questions in each questionnaire of this group indicate that the majority of them still hold to the personal concept of God, its symbol and philosophy. On the other hand the Atheistic and Agnostic columns go to the other extreme. The Skeptical column stands midway between the two. The Subjective and Deistic columns do not go as far as the Atheistic and Agnostic but with one or two exceptions lean more in that direction than towards the religious practices of the Personal concept of God column. The Deistic column is a little more radical than the Subjective.

These tables prove beyond all doubt that a close connection exists between the personal concept of God and a high percentage

of religious observance. Evidence is lacking, however, to prove a casual relation between them, which is the cause and which the effect. Both the personal God concept and the religious beliefs and practices have grown out of the same soil, have developed from the same social background. A new civilization, with a new point of view and with new habits, developing a new environment, exerts the same destructive influence on all aspects of religion. With some students either the God concept or the beliefs or the religious observance may change separately, a change that will weaken the hold of the other aspects, or what may be more general, they may change concomitantly. Indications are not wanting of a weakening of the hold and influence of this personal concept of God upon those who believe in it. They are reluctant to ask or answer questions or to think much about the subject like those in the Unknown concept group. To them, this personal concept is but a name or a descriptive phrase. They carry it over without much questioning or consideration. "I think of God only when religion is discussed" they say, or, "I turn to God only in times of need" or "My belief depends on circumstances." At best this personal concept of God is helpful on the occasions of need, suffering or loss, occasions relatively rare in the life of youth. But in the daily routine and general tenor of life with its many new social problems, this concept is ignored and forgotten. It exerts no influence. It plays no part. The conflict between the personal concept of God and the influences of experience and environment, not sensed by some, and solved in a strained and forced manner by others, of this group, as further study will indicate, points to trouble in days to come.

The personal concept of God has already lost its hold upon the larger proportion of the respondents. The percentages of the students with the atheistic and agnostic concepts are not large. That may seem strange but the trend of the two-thirds of the respondents with the impersonal concept is in the same direction and of the same character as the Atheistic and Agnostic concept groups, opposed to, or away from, the personal concept of God. This concept does not square with their thought and experience. It is not adequate or effective. It is conceived in rather childish

and immature terms. It is made up of the anthropomorphisms, the pictures of the childish imagination that survive. It is pictured as a larger, physical being in whose image man was made or as the heavenly father, or the celestial papa, as another described it, who watched over his children, who kept account of their actions, rewarded and punished them, from whom they could ask favors, who heard and granted prayers. It was a biblical concept, bound up with all the other aspects of the Bible and subject to the same doubts and disbelief as the stories and miracles, which as children they had accepted literally. It was a definite, fixed, limited and unchanging concept. To reinterpret, to broaden, to develop, or to change it meant to them to deny or to destroy it. That the concept could be changed, was a revelation. These reasons account for the Atheistic, the Skeptical and the Agnostic concept groups. They are satisfied with a negative attitude. For these same reasons the Subjective and Deistic concept groups discard the personal concept of God. They were eager, however, to develop a new concept, one that grew out of their own experience, that harmonized with their knowledge and understanding of life and reality. This is the largest group, larger than that with the personal concept of God and that with the negative attitude towards God. This is the creative, the most hopeful group. No guidance or help for this development came from their religious instruction, their religious leaders. This growth seemed to come not because of, but rather in spite of, their knowledge of religion. It was unknown to them that, instead of creating a new God concept, they could have added another aspect in response to the new needs of the new day, a broadening of the concept which had been successfully attempted again and again in the growth of the God idea among our people. It was unheard of that the God idea was a way of life, a pragmatic theism. The quest for a God concept, which for some was symbolic of the Godhead, seemed a new adventure. It never occurred to them that there had been an eternal quest and that the search, they thought they had undertaken anew, had in truth never been abandoned through the ages. Their God idea seemed to have no connection with religion. It was not the result of a continuous growth or a

reconstruction of their faith, but a break, most often a complete break, it seemed, with the best of its traditions and wisdom, with all that is of value, of help and of inspiration.

The larger environment in which the Jews now live, the new industrial civilization and the vast educational system of which the university is a part, do not tend to undermine the God idea in the minds of the students but rather to destroy the idea of the personal concept of God and to provide material for the development of a new concept. The universities and colleges, however, do not aid in this development. They do not give the student a clear understanding of just what science is, either as a content, as a method or as a philosophy. They could teach the students but somehow they fail to impart these truths to them that this universe of ours, in accordance with the best interpretation of science, is neither materialistic nor mechanistic, and that there is room in it for freedom, purpose, religion and God. The mentors of students at the universities could help create a broader outlook and develop a better philosophy of life. The suggestions offered by some professors, at times cynical, at best mostly negative, are scarcely helpful.

That the forces and influences, that tend to destroy the personal concept of God and to undermine religious practices, are present in our civilization, no one can deny. They have not to any extent, however, been taken into account, nor given any consideration in the objectives of religious instruction. Our religious schools and religious leaders cannot be held guiltless in that they have not attempted to prepare the children under their guidance to understand these new forces and to harmonize their religious instruction with the new tendencies and trends in their environment. The religious instruction of the school and home has centered about the God idea. It, however, has always been the God idea of the Bible and biblical times and even there the teaching has been limited and circumscribed. That there is a relation between Judaism and its social and economic background, and that the God idea grew out of this background, have not been generally understood nor admitted. These ideas certainly have not been taught. The writing and teaching of Jewish history against a social background is an

undertaking still in swaddling clothes. Most teachers have not even been aware of the development of the God idea nor of the changing concepts and patterns of the God idea of the great prophets and sages arising from their different experiences and outlooks. No psychological methods have been used. The anthropomorphic ideas have been taught again and again to children of all ages. If there has been any formal instruction on the subject it has been taken from theology rather than from the diverse manifestations of nature and the wide sweep of history. How to teach the God idea to children has only recently been a subject discussed at assemblies of teachers and at conferences of Rabbis and religious leaders. No clear presentation of the subject has been suggested. Experiments as to how to teach this concept effectively may have been undertaken in some religious schools but nothing has as yet been published. "Don't teach the God idea to young children; they do not understand abstract conceptions," says one, or "Don't teach children anything they may have to unlearn afterwards," says another, are helpful suggestions but not constructive. The teachers in religious schools have no definite training, no clear understanding, no comprehensive grasp of the subject they are teaching and so cannot succeed in imparting the knowledge understandingly to children. Even religious leaders may have no clear idea of the content or the meaning of the God concept that they use so frequently in their teaching and sermons. Nor do I know of any groups among the many Jewish youth or Jewish student movements that are devoting any time to the study of the "Development of the God idea" or are creatively or constructively endeavoring to broaden the God concept.

That two-thirds of the students have rejected the concept taught to them is not a favorable comment on the work of the religious schools. What they should have been taught but were not in religious schools, that the God idea is fundamental, though the concepts and patterns have often changed and may continue to change, has been developed by the students for themselves. It is to their credit that they have frankly and courageously expressed their feelings of dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of the personal God concept and have attempted without

aid or encouragement to formulate larger concepts of God which grew out of, and were in harmony with, their own experiences and the needs of the age in which they live.

The efforts of the religious leaders to interest and guide the Jewish boys and girls after completing the courses at the religious schools, though meeting with slight success here and there, have in large measure been to no purpose. Futile have been the fulminations against the materialism of a machine age that has choked the spirit of religion; the condemnation against the critical and skeptical attitude taught in the high school and university that has undermined the religious faith of its students; the criticism against the yielding of pleasure-loving youth to his environment that renders him indifferent to the religious observances of his home and his people. It is to be feared that many religious leaders are not even aware of what is really happening. The dangers, they have endeavored to ward off, have overtaken the student. The personal concept of God, on which basis alone their ministrations can be effective and with which they have labored to safeguard youth, has been undermined, weakened and in most cases destroyed. In its place have come the negative point of view maintained by many and the new concepts of God formulated by our youth which require a very different method of training and a new form of service. Condemnation should not be meted out to these students, as is our wont, but rather should a better understanding of their viewpoint be cultivated and aid and guidance tendered them. In looking then in the direction in which they are looking, we might help them to fill in some of the details of the picture they are endeavoring to create, to point out the implications the new concepts involve and the responsibilities they entail.

Co-workers, co-partners with God ought to be the pattern that grows out of the needs of the day, a concept that might determine the conduct of man in relation to his God and his world. A co-partnership with God achieved through culture, might be the symbol that characterizes our philosophy of life. The idea of a co-worker is not new but its use has been incidental. It might now become a more exclusive relationship.

Man's struggle, in the past, was against his physical environ-

ment, against the forces of nature. The uncertainty of life and the need of dependence on a Higher Being came from his inability to understand and to cope with these forces. The pattern was God as Creator, King, Father. Man has learned through scientific research much about the ways and laws of nature; he is able in part to control and predict. The rapid progress of a material culture, the machine, the industrial age, have come from this knowledge. Man's struggle now, is not against physical forces but social forces, not against nature, but human nature. Man has helped to build the industrial and machine civilization in which he lives, a great civilization indeed, by realizing more than in any preceding generation the possibilities and potentialities with which he has always been surrounded. By attempting anew to bring to fruition the social and spiritual possibilities latent in the scientific, industrial and democratic age, he can help to control and direct the machine he has built; to become its master. This control and guidance can come not through faith as a substitute for knowledge but through knowledge itself, through faith that knowledge completely mastered and rightly used, can help in the attainment of a goal of greater security for man.

Salvation in large measure will come through culture not for the few but for the many. Society can buy and use for its comfort and convenience the many marvelous inventions, created and devised by the inventors, without appreciating the intense struggle necessary for their conception nor the knowledge of the intricate machinery of the finished product. Many can benefit by the advice of physicians without the need of understanding anything about the complexities of the human body and mind nor of the problems of surgery and medicine. The research of the expert or specialist, however, is not sufficient to solve the industrial and economic problems with which all life and thought are affected. Man can distinguish between the clarifying counsel of the expert and the misleading words of the propagandist only through a general understanding of the machinery of the society in which he lives. He must be able to judge the value of the advice before he can encourage and help in its application. A thorough going understanding of the conditions can help to

remedy the innumerable maladjustments caused by the rapid strides made by material culture. Knowledge alone is not sufficient. Too much emphasis on knowledge alone has been the weakness of our educatioanl system. Human nature must be taken into account. It can be changed but only pedagogically through education, through training. Character education has come in response to the new need of the new day, not the acquiring of knowledge so much as the control and enrichment of experience. Emphasis is on the individual, not on knowledge. Man must acquire the knowledge, understand it, interpret it, assimilate it and be able to apply it to every life situation and experience. That is the need of the hour, the salvation for our difficulties. This will develop a finer democracy, one that will evolve a better industrial system, in which coöperation will be substituted for competition and in which the machine will be used not for individual profit but for the welfare and security of all society.

The demands, the prophets of old made upon their people, were the solutions these creative religious thinkers offered for the social evils of their day. They made these demands in the name of God. The whole Talmudic development was a reinterpretation of the laws of the Torah or five books of Moses and provided the new laws for each new day. The Oral Law or Talmud, which grew out of the Written Law or Pentateuch and came in response to other new needs were regarded as divine as the latter. To provide for the needs of the present civilization, though more difficult and complicated, is just as sacred a task. The great moral principles, the eternal truths are just as binding today as they were in the past. But they cannot be effective or helpful unless we know how to apply them to our more complex and ever changing conditions. The principles are the same but the applications are different. What is meant by honesty? Is it only to be applied in relation to property? Is property to be given more consideration than human life and human welfare? What do we mean by social justice? How can employment be provided for men and women willing to work, permanent employment with sufficient means to provide security and progress for each worker and his family? That question, especially pertinent in

these days of wide-spread depression, is present at all times. If God has a purpose or purposes, and we believe He has, they are not up in the heavens but right here in our midst. It is not for us to follow a laissez faire policy in religion, to leave it in God's hands to work out these purposes in His own day or in the course of generations. It is for us, the most intense religious duty we can take unto ourselves, to give the best of mind and soul to learn as much of that purpose as is humanly possible and to put forth our best efforts to make those purposes prevail. If there is a way to make the machine a means for the finest development of all mankind, if there is a way to develop a nobler social order, a better world, and there is, then that is God's way. It is for us to find it and to help Him establish it. The finest religious exercise is not only to commune with God on high but to see Him in the tasks, the problems, the difficulties of every day life. Not to search for the unknown outside of the world but to seek the unknown in the very midst of the known. It is for us to find the solution of the problem in a world in which we seem so much at home. "God renews daily the work of His creation". If there is a spark of divinity within us, the religious task assigned to us is the life of creative adventure and the seeking of the ever newer applications of the old eternal verities.

The personal concept of God and the sense of dependence that goes with it seem to be narrowed down to the thought: What does man expect of God? When, in time of sorrow and distress and even on other occasions, our prayers are not heard nor answered and our hopes not realized, we are downcast, overcome by disappointment and disillusionment. This personal concept of God, the majority of students seem to doubt or to reject. They are constructing a newer concept. Might not the pattern of that concept be co-partnership with God? Then the emphasis is laid on: What does God expect of man? What part shall man play? The possibilities and potentialities in our new age are greater than ever before in the history of mankind. What are the facts? It matters not whether we seek them ourselves or learn them from experts or bureaus of research; ours, the ability to understand and interpret them, the strength to help apply them and the courage to carry them out, whatever the cost,

whatever the sacrifice. Might that not be something of the content of the newer concept of God and something of the symbol, the philosophy, closely and intimately associated with this concept, that our students are endeavoring to construct? The effect of the personal concept of God, so deeply felt in the past, may be weakened, yet we might entertain the hope that the newer concept and its symbol, co-worker with God and co-operation with man, though different, might exert as deep and abiding an influence upon the minds of our youth as the spirit of the presence of God ever could have in the thought and life of our fathers.

DIVISION B

NATURE AND CAUSES OF CHANGE

VIII

Religion Deepened or Unchanged

Division B covers question 26. Write a brief account of the changes through which your thought, feeling and attitude towards Judaism have passed, indicating if possible (a) the Nature of Change and (b) the Causes of change. The twenty-three types of answers given in (a) the Nature of Change, were reduced to four general headings, (1) Religion, deepened or unchanged, (2) Doubt, confusion and indifference, (3) Disbelief or rejection of religion, and (4) Change of the concept of Judaism as a religion of customs to one of nationality, race, morality, etc. The thirty-two types of answers, one with four, another with six subdivisions found in (b), the Causes of change, were collected under four categories, (1) Influences of home and contacts helping or hindering the development of religious thought or practice, (2) Intellectual reasons, as increase of secular and religious knowledge, conflict or harmonizing of religion and science, thinking out religious problems for one's self, (3) Dissatisfaction with forms or customs of religion, (4) University activities that cause indifference. The answers to these questions are tabulated in Tables XVI to XIX, XXVI to XXIX and XXXVIII to XL Not all of the material could be used.

Division B, on the Nature and Causes of Change, includes Chapters VIII to XI. As in Division A, The God Idea, so here consideration is first given to the students with the favorable attitude towards the religious beliefs and customs, to those who carried over their faith, deepened or unchanged, into the university. The subsequent chapters are devoted to discussing the attitudes of the students that break away from the beliefs and practices because of the three different kinds of conflicts against which they must contend: (1) The intellectual conflict of

religion and science in an age of science, (2) The conflict, in an industrial age, of the religious and the secular or that of the customs of a past age, with the activities and interests of the present, into which they do not fit, (3) the age of democracy with the conflict in the methods for ethical training used in an age with external authority for fixed and unchanging conditions, and those in use in an age with inner ethical development for changing conditions.

Chapter VIII has one set of statistics and one conclusion for the subject, but it has two parts for the opinions of the students, one for religion deepened and the other for religion unchanged.

Chapter IX, dealing with intellectual problems, has two parts, the first, from the Nature of Change which consists of doubt, confusion and indifference, and the second, from the Causes of Change which consists of conflict of religion and science, increase in secular knowledge, thinking problems out for oneself, etc. First, Nature of change, with its statistics is considered and then Cause of change, with its statistics and students' opinions. These are all intellectual problems and so one conclusion is given.

Chapter X, dealing with religious customs and ceremonies, has also two parts, first, from the Nature of Change, which consists of disbelief or rejection of religious customs and ceremonies and the second, from the Causes of Change such as the inadequacy of religious customs and ceremonies for present day living. First, the Nature of change is considered and then the Causes of change, each with its statistics and students opinions, and one conclusion is given for the entire subject.

In chapter XI, the change of the conception of Judaism, as a religion of customs and beliefs, to that of morality, has one section with its statistics, students' opinions and conclusion. The need for a change of methods for ethical training is considered in this chapter.

About one-fifth of the respondents stated that they carried their beliefs and their customs over into the university and that, despite many difficulties, they have kept their faith intact. Their mind is not troubled with intellectual doubts and their spirit is serene in the belief that their religion has broadened or

remained unchanged. Many of the opinions these students express, are excellent. In them they have defined just what they mean by religion deepened or unchanged. Their attitudes are discussed on the basis of their own definitions. Their ideas of religion correspond to the interpretation given it by their parents and teachers. An opportunity will be given to examine these objectives of religious education used in the home and the religious school and to determine their value. If it is possible for a few students to attain these objectives and to keep their faith intact while at the university, it might be possible for many others to do likewise. A careful examination, however, leads us to the conclusion that these objectives are not effective and that these students evade, rather than squarely face, the conflict of their religion with their environment.

I. *Statistics*

This section, made up of twenty-three per cent, is divided into three parts, (a) Religion deepened with eleven and one-half per cent, (b) Religion unchanged with seven and one-half per cent, and (c) Greater interest in religion developed because of prejudice at the university with three and one-half per cent.

The third part, (c), has been omitted. The purpose of this chapter has been to ascertain what the methods of religious instruction are that enable the students, with this training, to carry over their religious faith into the university. Prejudice, as a method of deepening religion, does not therefore belong here. This third part, (c) will be considered in Chapter XIV, The University. This three per cent is taken out of the percentages of Section 1 of Tables XVI, XXVI and XXXVIII. The percentages of Section 1 of these Tables as used in this chapter will be a little less than those found in this section of the tables in the Appendix.

The full meaning of the statistics can readily be seen in Section 1, of Table XXXVII, in Series C, The God Idea. In Section 1 of this Table both the Personal concept of God column and the Unknown attitude towards God column contribute the largest number to the group of Religion deepened or unchanged. The former has thirty-six per cent, by far the largest percentage, and

TABLE XXXVIII

NATURE OF CHANGE

PERCENTAGES OF 1169 STUDENTS WITH DIFFERENT GOD CONCEPTS AND WITH THE NATURE OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM AT THE UNIVERSITY

SECTION	NATURE OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM	GOD CONCEPTS: PERSONAL	SUBJECTIVE	FORCE IN NATURE	SKEPTICAL	AGNOSTIC	ATHEISTIC	UNKNOWN	ALL STUDENTS
1....	Religion deepened or unchanged at university	36	15	13	13	04	03	25	19

the latter has twenty-five per cent the second highest percentage. These two percentages cannot be added as they are found in the table, for the one hundred per cent is obtained by adding the percentages down each column and not across the columns. But if the percentages are computed on the basis of two hundred twenty-four students, the number of replies in the group under discussion, the following results will indicate the large percentages of these two columns, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown attitude towards God.

PERCENTAGES OF 224 STUDENTS WITH DIFFERENT GOD CONCEPTS AND WITH THE ATTITUDE OF RELIGION DEEPENED OR UNCHANGED

GOD CONCEPTS	PERCENTAGES	
Personal	43%	
Subjective		11%
Deistic		18%
Skeptical		08%
Agnostic		01%
Atheistic		01%
Unknown Attitude	20%	
	63%	39%

In this table the Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude to God have sixty-three per cent and all the others, thirty-nine per cent. Regarding these two God concept columns, three things must be remembered (1) they have the best record of religious practices, (2) they have the lowest percentage of doubt, confusion and indifference and (3) while they have the larger number of students who give as reasons for the deepening of their faith an increase in Jewish knowledge and an ability to harmonize religion and science, they have by far the smallest percentage of those who have the desire and the ability to think for themselves or who are disturbed by intellectual conflicts.

TABLE XVI

NATURE OF CHANGE

PERCENTAGES OF 1169 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THE NATURE OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM WHILE AT THE UNIVERSITY

SECTION	NATURE OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	Religion deepened or unchanged at university	12	21	15	23	19

The other tables can now be more easily interpreted. In Table XVI, the line can again be drawn between the students with no affiliation and students with synagogue affiliation. The difference between the two is marked and expected, for there is a much smaller percentage of the personal concept of God in the former than in the latter. While the differences among each of the three groups with synagogue affiliation, orthodox, conservative and reform are small, they can be explained.

The orthodox and conservative groups have a smaller percentage than the reform. The students from these two groups have had a more intensive religious training and an environment where stricter religious observances prevailed. They have a

larger percentage of breaking away from the observances. In this same Table XVI, Section 4, the conservative group have the largest percentage for the Change of the conception of Judaism as a religion of custom to civilization, race or nationality and in Section 3, the orthodox group have the largest percentage for Disbelief in, or rejection of customs, ceremonies and beliefs. But it might be said that the orthodox group have the largest number of replies in the matter of the deepening of faith coming from the effort to harmonize religion and science or to see no conflict at all.

In Table XXVI, Religious Education, is to be found the first instance in which the line cannot be drawn between those with no religious training and the groups with religious training, for all the percentages in Part A are practically the same. The similarity between the two may be accounted for on the basis that (1) deepened and unchanged is a term relative to the amount of knowledge of each individual and not to a definitely fixed standard. This means that if any of the respondents came to the university with but little Jewish learning but by reason of his social contacts in participating in the activities of Jewish organizations on the campus, he gained an increase of knowledge of things Jewish over and above what he possessed on entering, he could say, as he did, that his religion was deepened. (2) The students with no religious training as well as those with religious training, have had the influence of the religious environment of the home. It is the influence of the home to a larger extent than that of the religious school, that makes possible the deepening of, or the carrying over unchanged, of the students' faith and practices into the university. This conclusion is born out by the far larger number of references to the influence of the home than to that of the teachers of religion or of religious schools.

The religious practices of this group are excellent, the best record of observances to be found among all the returns. This was to be expected. This group, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown attitude towards God columns, contributed the largest number. Their standard of observance is the best record of all the God concept groups and probably the best from these two columns of respondents are to be found here. The

TABLE XXVI

Nature of Change

Percentages of 1171 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction Classified According to the Nature of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Nature of change of attitude towards Judaism	A Types of religious instruction					B Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Religion deepened or unchanged at university	18	19	19	18	19	18	17	20	19

larger part of these students carried over these observances from high school, while about one-third of them improved in their practices of Bible reading and synagogue attendance. Complaints were made by a few that they could not continue their religious practices on the same high level at the university, as one said, "There must be a let up in the intensity of the practice," or another remarked, "It is a physical impossibility to attend services as regularly at the university as before." This excellent standard of practice is a high tribute to those students and an assurance that it is possible to continue and to increase their religious practices in an atmosphere which, if not actually hostile, is, at least by its neutrality and indifference neither helpful nor encouraging.

II. *What the Students Say*

A. Religion Deepened

A close examination of the opinions expressed by the students will indicate just what they have in mind when they say their religion has been deepened or remained unchanged. The opinions of the students are divided into two sections: A, Religion deepened and B, Religion unchanged. The respondents whose religion was deepened might be divided into five classes corresponding to the five general reasons given for this religious development, (1) General, (2) Personal, (3) Social, (4) Religious, (5) Intellectual.

(1) General—About one-fourth of these answers can be termed general. These students make the statement or check off the cause, "deepened", but give no reason at all for this supposed development or say nothing more than "increase of knowledge", "greater sincerity" or "more devoutness", all of which reasons afford no insight into the thought or outlook of these students.

(2) Personal—In this class the personal element seemed to be dominant, such as the loss by death of a parent or a friend, or studying to teach in the religious school, or preparing to be qualified to become the wife of Raabbi, or feeling an urge to champion the cause of Judaism.

"I would not forego Judaism for any reason. I do not know whether I believe in the perpetuation of Jewish customs or whether I will help perpetuate them later in life. However, I want to see Judaism live on (Chauvinistic or sentimental) and am willing to do my share to aid it."

"I have become more and more proud of my people and am ever becoming more anxious to be a champion for them. I would devote my life to the cause of Judaism if I could."

(3) Social—The most important cause for the deepening of religious feelings, to which the larger number of the group refer, might broadly be termed social. This development is due to the contacts the respondents made with their Jewish fellow students at the activities of the different Jewish organizations on the campus, such as fraternities, sororities, clubs and discussion groups, and to meeting and listening to lectures by Jewish leaders and men of prominence invited especially to address the Jewish students. These associations, some of the students testify, had a positive effect upon their religious life and thought. Many of this group, practically forty per cent of them, came from small towns where the contacts with their fellow religionists are very few, Jewish activities non-existent and the opportunities for developing Jewish thought and feeling limited. The associations with men and women of their own faith, which were new experiences to these students, were regarded as a decided gain. Many of the respondents of this same group were in touch with those who knew more about Judaism or were more observant in the carrying out of their religious duties. They carried on discussions with non-believers and with students of other faiths and met men and women of all shades of thought and practice on the campus. All were influenced; some admitted that they were won over from indifference, doubt or confusion, to a strengthening of their faith. The various Jewish organizations on the campus, fraternities and sororities, the Hillel Foundations, Menorah, Avukah, and the Junior Hadassah Clubs, in the contacts they afforded and the social, intellectual and religious activities they offered, were mentioned as having exerted an influence which to these students proved very effective. Lectures by prominent visiting speakers, groups for study organized and led by professors, discussion groups by the students and

courses at the university in Semitics, were referred to as playing a part in the deepening of religious feeling.

"A deepening of my religious faith is due to an increase of knowledge and association with orthodox students of the Yeshivah."

"It was not until I came here to the University where I was under the influence of several students who are firm believers of Judaism that I began to be more serious about my religion. I believe that the confusion is leading to a deepening of my religious faith."

"When I was young I felt pressure was used to keep me interested. Then I grew disinterested as a reaction. Now I take more interest than before because of the contacts through various activities on the campus."

(From small town) "Not having had a great deal of opportunity to be with Jewish people outside of my own home, I came away to school and was with Jewish people almost entirely, which had made me feel much more devoted to my own people and has given me a deeper feeling for my faith."

(From small town) "While always possessing a sincere faith in Judaism my faith has undergone a deepening of sincerity, due no doubt to increased understanding rather than mere acceptance of the faith without any underlying knowledge. This increased knowledge I attribute to closer association with the spiritual organizations and the spiritual leaders of the community."

"Big men in Jewish life came to the Hillel Foundation and talked of Jewish things. At the Foundation it was these out-of-town speakers who converted me back or really more so to Jewish life, Judaism or religion, and tonight I expect to go to hear an out-of-town speaker at the Hillel Foundation. To date the services at the Foundation bore me to death. It took a few speakers to bring back a Jewish heart in me, to think Jewish ideas and to be proud to be a Jew. I am now at heart a Zionist though still unreligious. It may come with age—who knows?"

"By attending the Jewish congregation on the campus and listening to the speakers there has been a deepening of my religious faith. The cause of this is due to the Rabbis who have spoken. They have thrust into me new ideas of Judaism."

(4) Religious—This group though not large in number is the best example of Jewish practice and religious outlook among all the respondents. This section can easily be divided into two parts, (1) Devotion to religious practices, and (2) Solving of the intellectual problems which had aided in their religious practices. This second part is placed under the intellectual.

"I would take no examinations on the Sabbath. I would rather fail or drop the course."

"I refused to be in the Senior Play on a Friday night or to ride in a train to Washington with the class on the Sabbath. I never regretted my action for it, for it made it easier for succeeding orthodox students and gave me a deeper respect for Judaism and Christianity. I believe in sincere and consistent adherence to most of Judaism."

(5) Intellectual—This is divided into two parts. I. The religious aspect dominates. The absence of conflict strengthens the religious practices. II. The intellectual dominates. The reconciliation of religion and science will bring about a reconstruction of Judaism.

I. *Absence of Conflict*

The consistent religious practices of this group are in part due to the fact that some do not question or doubt. Others find no conflict between religion and science or if there is a conflict they exclude all the claims of science or feel that the claims of religion are far more important or they use science to rationalize their beliefs and justify their practices. The religious training of the members of this group is excellent, the home background invariably helpful, the teachers of their religious school inspiring, their reading of literature of Jewish interest considerable, with some, extensive, their regular religious practices continued unchanged or increased, their concept of God broadened, but of the traditional personal character. About one-fifth of the group under consideration, but less than three per cent of the entire group of respondents, are representatives of a class on the campus, very small in number, who have carried over into the universities the religious training of home and religious school. These students are a realization of the hopes of religious educators.

a. *Religion has not been questioned.*

"I have never questioned Judaism. I firmly believed in it although my thoughts of it have deepened."

"I have never questioned my Judaism. I have been raised in a Reform home. My religion has deepened, every new experience changes my religion, but I expect it to change."

b. *A belief that there is no conflict.*

"There is no conflict. Have an inborn feeling for religion. Don't like to question miracles. Take them for granted."

"Deepening due to increase of knowledge and realization that there is no conflict between religion and science."

"I do not know enough about evolution that it should conflict with religion. I can get on without the Bible."

c. *No conflict because each serves a different field.*

"I understand religion better and appreciate it because I have thought about it. There is no conflict between religion and science; religion is in one field, science in another and the two need not overlap, they are unrelated. My religion is strengthened as far as God is concerned."

"Religion teaches and guides to the right and does away with wrong. While science and philosophy purport to teach the truth, I therefore disregard the so-called inconsistencies of religion shown by scientists and philosophers and by following the religious laws and customs I feel I am doing what is just and right in the eyes of my creator."

d. *There is no conflict, because it is not permitted to exist.*

"Science and religion have conflicted, but I have always found a plausible answer to each challenging question at my beliefs. My father and Rabbi have been a world of good advice to me."

"When a thought of indifference creeps into my mind as from physiological study and as I find it does creep into everyone's mind, I can find consolation in the fact that once I abandon my religious belief I lose my ideal religious convictions, self-consciousness, self-respect, respect for others, etc. I would then find myself bound by no political, ethical, social or moral laws even as far as sexual laws. For religion is the only foundation I can find."

e. *A rationalization of religion.*

"My advanced Jewish studies were of a more critical nature, but they were taught from a natural and pragmatic point of view. That means that we must test every Jewish thought for its functional value in modern Jewish life. The raison d'etre of Jewish life we did not question since we were both nationalistic and of the belief that Judaism has something to offer to the modern world."

"I am much more observant than most of my class mates because I seem to find a justification for every custom, and value in nearly every Jewish thought. I don't believe that my conclusions are reached in a purely logical way; they are influenced by my method of thinking which is to see both sides of the question simultaneously. That is the reason I have so few opinions."

II. *Reconciliation of Science and Religion*

This group, even smaller than the preceding, has found the basis for the deepening of their faith through a reconstruction of their religion. They recognize the claims of both religion and science and from the reconciliation they believe a better religion will evolve.

a. *The harmonizing of secular and Jewish knowledge is found to produce a better product.*

"The fusing of my secular knowledge and education with my Hebrew knowledge, education and experience results in forming definite rational conclusions and attitudes. Orthdoxy is slowly weakening. Reform Judaism is also weakening. A medium will most likely be evolved which will endure after them."

b. *The solving of the conflict leads to a clearer understanding of the Bible.*

"In my high school days there was quite a conflict in my mind as to the truth of certain things in religion, and the thoughts and ideas of science came to be uppermost in my mind. Now I have come to interpret the Bible and religion in a deeper sense and to read the Bible between the lines."

"I had originally been taught the Bible, or I have originally been taught to give the Bible free translation—To me the Bible has always been a narration by a great author and its legends are more moral or exemplary than mere chronological records. I have always reconciled science, even evolution with my faith, because I treat the Bible as clothing the facts in poetic phraseology and giving us a résumé as handed down through the ages until recorded."

"History and philosophy have helped me to place Judaism in its proper relation and chronological category and this has tended rather to inspire a deeper respect than a great indifference."

B. Religion Unchanged

Among the respondents who claim their religious attitude has remained unchanged there may be a wide range of feeling and viewpoint. At one extreme we have those who lack all indications of religious thought or practice, who say, for instance, "My thoughts have not changed because I have never known anything about Judaism, hence I have never thought much

about it," or one who has never studied the Bible nor attended services nor uttered a single prayer says, "My viewpoint has not changed." These few will be ignored. And at the other extreme are those who consistently have both excellent religious thought and regular religious practices and to these alone consideration is given.

These are divided into four classes, (1) General, (2) Miscellaneous, (3) Continued practices due to home influence, (4) Need is felt for a change though the practices are continued.

(1) General—A proportionally large number, practically one-third of these papers that say there has been no change and give no further information of any kind, are of very little value or help.

(2) Miscellaneous—A number of these replies are divided up into several categories, a few in each, such as social contacts at the university, no conflict between religion and science, etc. They were discussed in A, Religion deepened, and further consideration need not be given to them.

(3) Consistently observant—The small class, that maintained that their faith remained unchanged, offered as the reason for their attitude that they were able to carry over their religious observances and practices because, as many said, of the example set at home and the explanations of these customs given by their parents or, as a few said, because of the teachings of the school, the teacher or the Rabbi:

"I try to observe Jewish things as much as possible, because it was and is done so at home and it is thus second nature with me. Since the Jewish religion is one of tradition, I don't see any reason why a man should do away with traditional observances today. All those observances and customs may be modernized and may be made just as interesting to the American youth as if they were substituted by wholly different customs and practices, picked at random from today's life."

"I cannot say there has been a change at all. The reason is that all I know comes from a good home training (orthodox). My parents have studied Judaism from a scientific and religious standpoint. In studying their views which they gave me I find very little to criticise."

"I feel that my attitude toward Judaism has not changed to any great extent since I have been at school, I still respect it highly. This I think is due

mainly to the fact that my parents always allowed us to think as we pleased, they never forced us to accept their ideas or beliefs."

"My feeling and attitude toward Judaism have always remained more or less the same. My parents have always emphasized the practical end of it. We cannot observe Saturday and the various other holidays, as our livelihood depends mainly upon our keeping the store open and doing business. However, the two or three days of Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kipper have always been set aside for religious meditation. There is no business on those days. We also observe the two Seder nights of Passover, and on those eight days we abstain from leavened bread and all other forbidden articles. The children of the family also go to school on all the holidays except Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kipper, as we do not wish to lose out in our school work."

"All my life I have been under a religious influence (in a Reform home). I formed my concept of God, religion and its moral teachings while attending Sunday school. I have maintained the same ideas since that time. I find it very easy to live up to the reformed religious teachings and hope to improve my scant knowledge of Jewish literature in the years to come. I have not found my religion to be detrimental in acquiring social prestige."

"There has been no real change. I come from a moderately Jewish home where most customs and holidays are observed. I do too as a matter of course. I have had historical training and teach Sunday school. In going through the process of growth I have naturally inquired into the meaning of God, but there has been no cynicism attendant and in my mind there is no conflict between science and religion."

(4) Observant but seek changes—These students, like the preceding class, have carried over or are anxious to carry on the religious practices taught to them but they differ from them in that they feel that some changes ought to be made if they are to remain consistent and not become hypocritical. All of these respondents continue their religious practices but they believe a change necessary and therefore urge and seek it in the customs of Judaism.

"While I believe, I will always believe in the orthodox religion, many of the laws to be followed by this orthodox belief seem out of order in this age, and as a result I doubt whether to follow all the laws or to be hypocritical and follow just those which I believe true, and at the same time I propose to be a real orthodox Jew which I am trying to be to the best of my ability while my stay away from home is three-fourths of the year round."

"I have been raised in a small town where we have been the only family for the past thirty years. We mingle publicly but very little socially. At home, we observe the Jewish customs strictly. My parents observe them away from home. There are seven children in the family, some atheists and some very religious. We never discuss religion together, but somehow know how each other feels. I have not been influenced by them. Gradually my disbelief in God grew. I was not upset about it and now I never think about it. I never mention it to my parents because they would not understand and would be very much hurt. Somehow, for no logical reason, I still like to observe the Jewish practices at home and think I would continue to do so in my own home, if I have one. I do, in my own room here, as far as food and dishes are concerned."

"I have always conformed to the conservative idea of Judaism. I regard Judaism as a means of protecting and preserving a wonderful race. I have somewhat relaxed in observance in those rules of Judaism which I regard as outworn, such as the dietary laws."

"I have been brought up in strict orthodoxy and have modified my attitude as I grow older by discarding certain senseless aspects which the older generation cling to stubbornly in the face of scientific facts. As a whole I believe that the dietary rules, religious services and observance of holidays, etc. must be retained despite some few inconsistencies and despite the theory of 'living for the present and future, rather than the past.' The observance of Jewish customs is the surest way of keeping up the Jewish consciousness. Gradually as they are discarded the Jewish element loses strength. A 'thought and conscience' religion is not enough. My religious beliefs have not changed radically."

"I personally am orthodox. However, there seems to me to be some antiquated laws which should be revised by the Rabbinate. I am American born, conform to dietary laws, and pray every morning so far. However, I do not know under what circumstances I will find myself in the future to continue as above. Incidentally my parents do not compel me to do as above although all of my brothers and sisters do conform as I do."

"My feeling (Reform) has not changed since I can remember. Sunday school teachers explained Bible stories, etc. satisfactorily, but did not want to talk about why we should believe in God. My lack of interest in Judaism is only in the ritualistic part of the faith."

"My attitude toward Judaism has changed very little except that I hope my present views are more mature and broader than my early views, due to increased knowledge and experience. I hope that I am not so hasty in seizing upon the faults of Judaism as formerly, but that I see it as a religion which is trying to meet social and individual needs. Reformed Judaism at its best

seems to me a growing religion, rather than a supposedly infalliable one. Yet I realize I am an incompetent judge as my knowledge of Judaism is limited."

III. *Conclusions*

This group, about one-fifth of all the respondents, who carried their religious practices and beliefs, unchanged or deepened, over into the universities, will compel many religious leaders to remove from their minds the sign they, in their imaginations, have placed over the entrances of all higher institutions of learning; "Abandon religious faith all ye who enter here." These students, who are entitled to praise and commendation, afford assurance to parents and teachers that their efforts to teach religious customs and principles by precept and example, have not been without success. But does that success, limited as it may be, justify the conclusion that the objectives, the methods and the content material of the Jewish religious schools and homes that produced these results, are essentially sound and correct and, in all justice and fairness, ought to be continued?

The statistics for this group are helpful but far more significant are the opinions and feelings expressed so well in so many papers. Though a larger number was quoted than possibly this particular topic warranted, many others, which I should like to have included, had to be omitted. These opinions were read and reread, carefully studied, first to understand clearly just what the students meant in calling their attitude towards Judasim deepened or unchanged, and then, in the light of that understanding, to interpret the value of the results, as well as of the methods of instruction that produced them.

What conception of religion do these students have in mind when they use the terms, deepened or unchanged? It coincides in some measure with the objectives of the religious school, an appreciation of the history and literature of their faith and especially an observance of the customs, so as to fit readily into the life and activities of their people. By unchanged is meant the continuance of the customs and ceremonies which have been the most important feature of the religious atmosphere of the home. By deepened, is meant the addition of some knowledge, much or little, of things Jewish, the continued observance

of religious customs, and the preventing of science from making any inroad upon the religious viewpoint. The emphasis in both upon observance, leads to the belief, unfortunately present in the minds of many, both students and adults, that religious and observant are synonymous.

To this group, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown attitude towards God columns, have contributed two-thirds, by far the largest number. They are disinclined to answer the question, why they maintain their present attitude, for the replies of many of them are in the class termed general, in which only the words, deepened or unchanged, are checked. They have no doubts nor are they disturbed by conflict or confusion, and yet they say their religion has undergone a change for the better.

The influence of religious education in helping the students to carry over their religion into the university seems to be rather secondary. Of the possible forty-five per cent of all the respondents with the Personal concept of God and the Unknown attitude towards God, who have the best religious practices and who might be expected to carry them over, only twelve per cent or one-fourth of them are in this group. The other three-fourths have broken from the influence of religious training and they together with those, whose trend was away from the personal concept of God, are to be found in the groups either troubled with intellectual difficulties or dissatisfied with the forms of their faith. But upon the attitude of the group whose religion is deepened or unchanged, the influence of the home is far more effective than that of the religious school.

The three principal reasons offered by the students for the deepening of religion are (1) the Religious, (2) the Social, and (3) the Intellectual. Though they are really three aspects of the religious and ought to be treated together, it will be much easier to discuss them separately.

(1) Religious—Being religious means to these students to be observant. Many papers point to this conclusion. The observance of ceremonies is the way in which they fulfill their duty, the manner in which they manifest their loyalty to their faith and people. In the two subsequent chapters just the opposite attitude is considered. There, a far larger number of students

are inclined to disbelieve or reject Judaism as a religion of custom and change to another concept because the customs of their faith, they believe, are inadequate for present day living. The subject is discussed in detail in those chapters and consequently little need be said here. At best these customs are observed from conviction or to make it easier for succeeding classes of Jewish students at the universities to live a Jewish life. But in most cases they are observed as a matter of course because it is second nature. These customs and ceremonies have been practiced by their parents, and to continue the observance will please them. The students who carry on these practices in the face of difficulties and at a great sacrifice or whatever the reason, are to be respected and admired. But because they do not see nor ask what part this observance plays, what help it can offer in meeting and solving the problems of every day life, their example will not be imitated nor will their influence be strong among the other students. To speak of an unchanged attitude, is to think of one that is kept entirely apart from the environment with which it is surrounded, if that is possible, that is separated from the life and thought of the student, neither influencing nor being influenced, that is static and stagnant. The duty then for this group is merely to observe without thought or question. The moment they begin to question, they feel that "some senseless aspects to which the older generation cling in the face of scientific facts, are outworn, are out of order in this age" and that changes must be made. These customs suggest nothing beyond themselves, for the most part they are merely habits. What once was their purpose is now forgotten, and no new spirit has been instilled into them. They do not stimulate, they do not inspire, for in the observance alone the complete religious duty is performed. To say that by observance, religion is deepened, can neither be enlightening nor uplifting. Much more to be admired are the students who face confusion and conflict, who protest that religion is not adequate to meet the needs or solve the problems of the day, who are hoping and seeking for religious reconstruction. Of them it can be said more truly that their religious concepts have been broadened and deepened.

(2) Social—The contacts, the students have made with their fellow co-religionists or with the leaders of their faith, especially those invited to address them, and the results these contacts have brought about, are termed social. The students felt an at-homeness, a feeling of security among their own, an opportunity of being themselves, which aided in their adjustment at the university. From these associations came many kinds of awakening influences. They were impressed by the presence of the leaders of their people, and their love and respect for their faith were deepened. From the social contacts at the activities of the many different Jewish organizations on the campus came an increase of knowledge. They became the recipients of new ideas. They learned more about the history, the literature and the aspirations of the Jews or the current events affecting Jewry. By meeting with all kinds of students, however, their outlook was broadened. By contrast they were made ashamed of how little they knew, by association they were stimulated to a stricter observance. Their thoughts were challenged and their feelings awakened which created the impression that their faith was deepened. These Jewish activities on the campus, in so far as they aided the students in adjusting themselves to their new environment and in developing a consciousness of pride in their faith and a self-confidence in themselves, prove a great benefit both to the university as well as to the students. An organized Jewish program ought to be worked out for every campus. Indispensable as these intellectual and social activities may be, the help they offer, however, towards a better understanding of Judaism is limited. Religion is concerned with the life and history of the past and is separated from the forces and influences of our present civilization. It is seldom, if ever, presented in an interpretative or scientific spirit. The student is not taught on the campus any more than in the religious school that religion and religious concepts are a development. He is not aware that Judaism grew out of the social background of its day and that the genius of the Jew consists in the fact that the thinkers and leaders of those days gave a religious interpretation to the forces of the environment and the events of their time. He does not know that Judaism, to be dynamic and vital today, must, in the

same way, understand and interpret religiously the economic, political and social forces and influences with which it is surrounded and amid which it lives. Whatever work the students did or whatever they undertook, while at college, was under the stimulus of leaders, and when the stimulus ceased, their interest and activity in religious matters were ended. They have not learned what is fundamentally wrong with religion in general and with Judaism in particular nor how it can be reinterpreted to remedy the evils. They were not taught to think creatively nor to act creatively in relation to their faith. They lack the elements of leadership and do not understand what is needed to bring about the reconstruction of the religious institutions in the communities to which they shall return.

(3) Intellectual—The discussion of the belief, that there is no conflict between religion and science and, if there is, it can easily be harmonized in favor of religion, constitutes the intellectual or the third aspect of the subject. This is just the reverse of the reason given for the doubt, confusion and indifference with which, it will be pointed out in the next chapter, over two-thirds of all the students are troubled, namely, that there does exist a conflict between religion and science. The students in this group find an easy way out, by either denying there is such a conflict or reconciling the two in favor of religion. This simple belief involves us in further intellectual problems. With those who say that they do not question their religion nor know enough about it to sense a conflict, we need not much concern ourselves. For that kind of outlook, no hindrance prevents their carrying over into the university their beliefs and practices. Not a few of these are to be found in the group under discussion. The other answers indicate that the difficulty has been seen but overcome. Some hold that religion and science do not conflict, for they belong to two different fields that do not overlap. Others believe that the ideas of science can be rationalized into supporting the beliefs and customs of religion. From these attitudes come two resultants, (a) A divided mentality and (b) Refusal or inability to see the truth. (a) The second illustration under c, page 92, is an excellent illustration of muddled thinking. The student says that religion teaches right and science teaches

truth, and so he can disregard the inconsistencies of religion shown by scientists and feel that by following religious laws and customs, he is doing just and right in the eyes of his Creator. Religious laws and customs are the mores of the people and do not constitute what we term just and right. If he carried out the contrast, his conclusion should have been, "I would rather do right than be truthful," which is impossible. Science can get on without religion but religion in the sense of right or of value cannot get on without science. The attempt to separate religion and science has led, if not to a split personality, then to a split mentality. There are two separate, closed compartments in some minds, one for religion and one for science, and the one does not know what the other is doing or thinking. That men and women, who have had no educational advantages, are not conscious that they have departmentalized minds, one might readily understand but that so many with culture and training accept or pretend to accept this solution for their intellectual difficulties and conflicts, is incomprehensible. This very attitude bears out the assertion that has been made that Judasism or religion in general is regarded as belonging to the past, as a something separate and apart from the present neither influencing nor being influenced by the forces of the new social order. Religion does not need therefore to understand nor to change, nor to concern itself about playing an effective part in directing the secular activities of its devotees.

(b) Rationalization is but another manifestation of the deductive method. The desired end is set up and every argument turned inside out to prove the value of that end. It is a process of self-deception. They argue science can be reconciled to religion, but to religion the laws of logic must not be applied nor must it be subjected to the rules of scientific examination. Again religion is made an activity apart from not only every day life but even from the rules of logic. If we face the facts squarely there is no escape from the conclusion that as religion is now taught and practiced there is a conflict between religion and science and that the conflict can be resolved only if religion is taught scientifically. And only if Judaism it reinterpreted and reconstructed scientifically, can it again exert an effective influence on the life and thought of the day. A very

few students who perceived this, appreciate the value of the Bible because they interpreted it from the point of view from which it was written and believe that from the reconciliation of religion and science a better outgrowth will ensue. As one student said, "Orthodoxy is weakening. Reform Judasim is also weakening. A medium will most likely be evolved which will endure after them." But the religious school and the home do not bring about this outlook. From their training come two alternative results, neither of them good. In the first, so many intellectual difficulties are evoked that religion is weakened in consequence. All thinking and questioning are suppressed in the second, and the existence of a conflict between religion and science denied or a reconciliation brought about by rationalization, and it is in this way alone that the religious practices and beliefs of home and school can be carried over into the university. Because this latter alternative cannot broaden the religious outlook and does not attempt to face the present difficulties squarely nor to solve the pressing problems effectively, the "attitude" under discussion in this chapter cannot fairly nor justly be termed, "deepened or unchanged."

IX

The Conflict of Religion and Science

The state of mind of most students towards Judaism is one of doubt, confusion and indifference. Whether the students retain much or little of their religious instruction, the impression always remains that what they have learned by precept and example at home and the religious school does not harmonize with the secular training they received at high school and the university. That there is something wrong, they are fully conscious but just what they cannot tell. There may be many reasons for this feeling, but the one, to which they gave most emphasis, which they offered far more often than any other cause in the entire questionnaire, is the influence exerted by the intellectual pursuits and environment upon their life and thought. This repeated emphasis would justify the giving to this study the title, "The intellectual approach to the understanding of the Jewish students' attitude towards Judaism."

In this chapter are included Section 2 of Tables XVI, XXVI and XXXVIII on the (a) Nature of Change and Section 2 of Tables XVII, XXVII and XXXIX on (b) the Causes of Change. These sections from the two sets of tables are taken together because they both deal with the intellectual problems and difficulties of the students.

The statistics for (a) the Nature of Change, Doubt, confusion and indifference and their interpretation are given first, and then the statistics for (b) the Causes of Change, Increase of secular knowledge, conflict of religion and science, thinking out problems for oneself, and their interpretation. This is followed by the students' opinions and conclusions.

I. *Statistics*

A. *Nature of Change*

Doubt, Confusion and Indifference—The figures indicate first of all that at least three-fifths of all the respondents are in a state

of indifference, confusion and doubt. Of these three states of mind, it must be pointed out that indifference has the smallest percentage and does not play as important a rôle as is generally believed. Doubt has a little larger percentage and confusion has the largest of the three. Confusion and doubt characterize the outlook of more than two-thirds of this group.

TABLE XVI

NATURE OF CHANGE

PERCENTAGES OF 1169 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THE NATURE OF CHANGE OT ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM WHILE AT THE UNIVERSITY

SECTION	NATURE OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
2.....	Doubt, confusion, indifference	50	61	60	61	60

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

In Table XVI the line of division again, is between the students with no affiliation and those with synagogue affiliation. The groups with synagogue affiliation have a remarkable similarity. When it is pointed out that more than one-half of the unaffiliated are indifferent, the difference between the unaffiliated group and the synagogue affiliated groups in the matter of doubt and confusion is much larger than the figures indicate.

In Table XXVI Section 2, (See Appendix), the difference here again is between those without and those with religious training. In the three types of religious schools, private instruction has even a slightly larger percentage, not of indifference but of confusion and doubt than the two other types. This may be due to the private instruction given by untrained teachers and may produce a larger degree of confusion and doubt in the minds of their pupils, especially with those who have had less than five years instruction. Among the religiously uninstructed, there is relatively more indifference than confusion and doubt which

fact again makes the difference in confusion and doubt between the religiously schooled and those unschooled even larger than the figures seem to imply. In Tables XXVI, Part B, the percentages indicate that there is more doubt and confusion in the minds of students who had even more than five years of religious instruction than of those with no religious training. The statistics in these two tables warrant the conclusion that the instruction in the religious schools and the influence of the home make for confusion and doubt.

In Table XXXVIII, Section 2, of the God Idea Series (See Appendix), note that the Personal concept of God column has a smaller percentage of indifference, confusion and doubt than all the other concepts and that the Unknown attitude towards God column, only half of whom answered this question, are next with a slightly smaller percentage than that of the other concepts. These two groups, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude towards God, have more than the average of indifference and considerably less than the average of confusion and doubt. The students with the personal concept of God and those with the unknown attitude towards God are much less disturbed by doubt and confusion and more inclined towards indifference than the students with the other concepts.

B. *Causes of Change*

Intellectual Conflicts and Difficulties—In close connection with the (a) Nature of Change, indifference, doubt and confusion, it has been deemed advisable to consider (b) the Intellectual causes for change, namely increase in knowledge, conflict between science and religion and the desire to think for oneself that have produced so much confusion and doubt.

In Table XVII Section 2, (See Appendix) the Intellectual reasons have the largest percentages in all of the sections. Here there is no difference between the synagogue affiliated and the unaffiliated. As these were the outstanding causes of change it was felt that much more detail ought to be secured. This Section, accordingly, was split up into its four contributing elements as found in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

INTELLECTUAL CAUSES

PERCENTAGES OF 790 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THE INTELLECTUAL CAUSES OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM WHILE AT THE UNIVERSITY

SECTION	INTELLECTUAL CAUSES OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1....	Increase of religious knowledge or harmonizing or religion and science	09	15	14	10	13
2....	Increase of secular knowledge or conflict of religion and science	73	92	89	86	88
3....	Beliefs and customs accepted blindly or as matter of course or especially because of lack of religious knowledge	25	11	10	06	10
4....	Desire for more religious information	05	06	09	05	06

These are the four separate intellectual causes into which Section 2 of Table XVII is divided.

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

If two or three intellectual reasons were given, as conflict of religion and science, and thinking out the problems for oneself, it was decided to count them in the tabulation as two or three or as many times as they were offered. In Section 2, of this Table are found the intellectual reasons that cause doubt and confusion. This eighty-eight per cent represents the largest percentage in the entire study. In this Section too, the difference is now seen between the unaffiliated and the synagogue affiliated. In Section 3, in which the lack of knowledge of things Jewish is given, the difference can again be noted between the unaffiliated and synagogue affiliated. The former has more than twice the percentage of the latter.

In Table XXVII there is no difference between those religiously untrained and those religiously trained. But in Table XXIX (See Appendix) in which the four intellectual causes are given, the difference between the two is seen. In examining Section 2, of this Table, the increase of secular knowledge, conflict of religion and science or thinking for oneself, it is found that the three types of religious schools, Sunday school, Talmud Torah and private instruction have the same very large percentage, much larger of course than the untrained. The longer the duration of religious instruction, the more insistent seem to be the intellectual difficulties and the conflict between religion and science. Whereas in Section 3, in which the lack of religious knowledge is given as a cause, the religiously untrained have a percentage over twice as large as those of the different schools. In Section 4, the desire for more religious knowledge, the percentages are rather small and insignificant. A slightly larger number of those without religious training are stirred by the desire for more religious instruction than those who have been privileged to experience such teaching. Strangest of all is the fact that the longer the period of religious instruction the less the desire for a continuance or renewal of the process. A growing appreciation of the value of religious instruction seemingly does not go hand in hand with an increasing number of years of instruction. Those with more than five years of instruction are so engaged in straightening out the conflict of religion and science that they have neither the time nor the desire to seek for more religious knowledge. All the tables we have been studying reveal the surprising fact that the students from religious homes and with religious instruction are more susceptible to intellectual difficulties and conflicts than those without religious home influence and without religious instruction and most astounding of all, the longer the period of religious instruction the students received, the more susceptible have they become to these intellectual conflicts. The statistics point unmistakingly to the conclusions that the religious influence of the home and the religious instruction of the school can be regarded as the direct causes of the intellectual difficulties and conflicts that produce so much havoc in religious beliefs and practices and the more the religious

instruction, the keener the sense and consciousness of the conflict of religion and science.

Table XXXIX shows that the Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude towards God columns have less of intellectual conflict than the others. Two further facts can be emphasized. (1) The Personal concept of God and the Unknown attitude towards God groups have the largest percentages of respondents who leave this question unanswered, the former with twenty-five per cent and the latter with fifty-eight per cent (Table XXXIX, Section 5); and (2) The Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude towards God contribute two-thirds of the number to the group of Religion deepened or unchanged[1] and most of these find the cause of this deepening in either an increase of religious knowledge or the absence of conflict or the ability to reconcile science to religion. These two facts, especially the latter, lessen considerably the already smaller percentages of intellectual conflict. The students with the personal concept of God and those with the unknown attitude towards God, who accepted without question the prevailing religious symbols and ideas, were not even inclined to answer the question under consideration for they had nothing to say. They were not bothered in the least about the matter of confusion or conflict. Those that did reply were to a considerably less extent than all the others troubled by intellectual difficulties as to their religious outlook and belief. The last point of interest to be mentioned is that the Skeptical group with sixty-eight per cent who have the largest percentage of all the God concept columns for indifference, doubt and confusion, have the smallest percentage for increase of secular knowledge and conflict between science and religion. Their indifference, confusion and doubt are caused by other influences than the intellectual.

II. *What the Students Say*

(1) *Increase of knowledge*

"Change began from rational skepticism even while at Talmud Torah; confusion, disbelief came from curiosity and interest rather in philosophy than in religious aspects."

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[1] See Chapter VIII.

"Further knowledge served to illustrate completely the fabulous basis of all religion."

"Science, zoology, astronomy and sociology can't help but upset one's views if brought up in an orthodox home; evolution and creation theory incompatible. One sees the logic of science and the strength of Darwin, Spencer, Mendel, Comte, Giddings. I think it wrong to mix Judaism with the college schedule. Religion of any sort is highly emotional and should be kept out of the program."

"Historical knowledge led to confusion as to the Bible, then after long debate came disbelief of the old religion and its moral dicta."

"I see religion and nationality as necessary evils ingrained by heredity. I try to keep myself free from these limitations and do nothing to strengthen it in others. This reaction is due to a deep study in scientific studies which were retarded by religious studies and affiliations."

"Much reading of philosophy, Shopenhausr, Nietzche led to my questioning religion. Because there was no satisfactory answers, I lost faith in organized religion."

"I read radical literature; religion is an opium for the people. Evolution, Marx and ethics of socialism replaced the religious code."

"Before I reached adolescence I put aside talking about the serpent and the story of God, the Creator became dim."

"Enlightenment courses, as sociology caused belief in ethical conduct from the viewpoint of nature, law, ideals, golden rule. I had no belief indivine being or hereafter."

"The greater the interest in other things, the less in religion. Courses in philosophy and science accentuated this feeling and now I have no interest in religion, except in sociological aspect."

"My study of philosophy was responsible for my doubt and disbelief. I overcame the blind belief in the teachings of Judaism and my taking my elders' assurance that these teachings were the best possible."

"I never remember sincerely believing in God as He was set before me by my orthodox well-educated (in secular and Jewish) parents. The ritual fascinated a mind that liked parade. As soon as I read more extensively in the scientific world I preferred belief in what I could see rather than in tradition. I could see the fallacies of the Bible and Jewish customs as well as the Christian and other faiths. Scientific determinism could alone reconcile my ideas."

"I may as well admit that my ideas on religion have changed immensely since public school age. Although I still believe in God I do not at all believe in religious dogma. My knowledge has increased in the direction of science and history and I am disinclined to believe in religion. It is true that I am too busy with my studies to take up with religion. Yet I am not indifferent for I always find myself thinking about the matter."

(2) *Conflict of science and religion*

"My change is due to a broadening of outlook and a greater understanding of life, nature, science, people and social economic condition to all of which religion does not offer a satisfactory explanation."

"When the idea of God and after life break down, the ritual and ceremony lose their significance, though we can see beauty in the language and the sentiment.

"Complete metamorphasis due to conflict."

"Change due to conflict. Men have learned to yield to reason and common sense and if viewed in this light, science must ultimately win and we must cease to be slavish imitators and to have implicit faith in workings and teachings of unknown source worked over by many others."

"I found history, the social sciences and psychology denied the Bible. These other conclusions are more reasonable than the Bible."

"The development of a critical attitude led to the need for reconciliation between religion and reality which was effected through philosophical rationalization. Once in the process I was left there."

"I came to college with a firm religious faith, based upon home training. I simply believed everything and could conceive of nothing different. This view continued until my sophomore year. At that time I took courses in sociology, psychology, ethics and the Bible, from the stand of higher criticism. All these opposed my old views and at first I resisted them and clung unthinkingly to my religion. But gradually I began to think over my religious beliefs and compare them with my new found scientific views. I hated to give up my religion, but it slowly gave way. I fought over every single point with myself before I gave it up. I was dreadfully unhappy. I didn't know what to think or believe. Since then I have begun to reconstruct a new philosophy without a personal God, a definite religion. I have honestly been trying to work out my own salvation by facing the facts of life as I see them. Incidentally I have developed a hitherto unknown sense of humor and a far greater enjoyment of the little incidents of life. Since I gave up my religion gradually and honestly, and have attempted to substitute something else in this place, I don't miss it. However, since I have changed so much in the past two years, I have no doubt but that I will continue and change my beliefs as my experience broadens, at all events, whatever happens should be interesting."

(3) *Thinking for oneself*

"The child is too busy asking simple questions to grapple with that of religion. I did not think seriously about this until I came to college."

"I tried to explain things to myself and that leads to confusion."

"Courses in zoology, eugenics, philosophy—how can a young man who thinks for himself become a sincere Rabbi?"

"No one who is truly intellectually honest can bring himself to believe that mystics, legends, and history are living ethical standards though I admire Jewish tradition and their perseverence."

"As soon as I could reason things out logically I realized that blind faith is not justifiable, that there is no proof of God."

"The transition from deep belief to an agnostic was not easy. It meant the loss of faith and of the comfort of things to which my sentiments clung but my reason opposed."

"At 14 when I began to reason I rejected customs and doubted God. The confused attitude is due to attempt at sophisticated intellectual attitude."

"At first there were the authoritative dicta of parents as to the literal truth of the Bible. Then came doubts as to this truth and then a complete rejection of it as anything but legend and literature."

"I learned to think for myself, very few Jews do this. They look back at the glorious past. Few think of the present or future of the Jewish people."

"Between 6 and 13 I believed. At high school many beliefs went by the board for with advanced education and necessity of having to think for myself came confusion and doubt. I doubted Moses and the Red Sea. I believed because it was my duty."

"A change in sentiment from belief in what the Sunday school teachers and the preachers said was absolute to taking it all with a grain of salt was brought about by an increase of knowledge and thinking things out for myself."

(4) *No rational basis for religion*

"On logical ground I doubted the need of observing many petty customs and practices even for the Lord's point of view."

"I once thought Judaism, whatever it was, was true. Now I see no significant difference between Judaism and any other religion, and I became indifferent because I could find no satisfactory rational basis for belief in God and Judaism."

"Religion does not give me the same satisfaction that science does."

"I doubted the happenings all along of the stories told me. The idea of instilling into Jewish youngsters today the fear of God made me feel the insincerity of the teachers themselves for nothing that is untrue must be hammered or drilled into people nor fear instilled into them."

III. *Conclusions*

The fundamental religious problem with which not only

students but all society are confronted is the clash of religion with the scientific, industrial and social forces in our present civilization. These trends will be given consideration in answering the questions raised by the students themselves. Science is discussed in this chapter in connection with the conflict of science and religion; in Chapter IX, the industrial revolution and the secularization of life in connection with the inadequacy of religious customs and ceremonies; in Chapter X, the new social order and the new interpretation of morality in connection with the change of the conception of Judaism from custom to morality.

Sixty per cent of the respondents give doubt, confusion and indifference as the nature of the change of their attitude and seventy-two per cent give increase in knowledge, Jewish and secular, conflict or harmonizing of religion and science as the cause of the change. More than three-fourths of all those answering these two questions refer to some intellectual difficulty. Allowing for some in this group who do not see any conflict or who can harmonize science to religion, there remains at least two-thirds of the respondents and possibly more whose religious outlook is disturbed by an intellectual problem. Any contact with students brings the overwhelming conviction that they are not satisfied with religious ideas and practices but that they cannot explain their dissatisfaction. An intellectual approach is indispensable to the understanding of their religious feeling and attitude. Religious leaders do acknowledge that the scientific age has caused much disturbance in religious thinking but, I fear, they fail to realize the havoc, the scientific attitude is playing with Judaism and with all organized religion. Doubt, generally, is a welcome symptom for it is an indispensable condition for the healthy growth of mind and spirit. Religious doubt in the mind of the student, however, does not lead to a better understanding of his faith, for his knowledge of religion or science does not enable him to answer or satisfy this doubt, and this leads to confusion. His doubts and confusion receive no satisfactory answer. It all ends in indifference because the subject no longer interests him and does not command his attention. Of the three, indifference, doubt and confusion,

indifference is the least important in number and significance.

How do they account for their attitude? The first explanation is through an increase in secular knowledge with its scientific point of view, the right to question, to demand or seek for verification. This scientific attitude need not necessarily come from the university. It may start at the high school or even before that. It may develop, as one student said, outside of both these institutions, through the newspapers, magazines, books and the environment in general, but the university tends to strengthen and deepen it. This increased knowledge and this new attitude cannot be fitted into the impressions, feelings and ideas developed from the religious training at the religious school and in the home. Doubt, confusion or indifference ensue. Another explanation is through what so many called, "Beginning to think things out for oneself." One is impressed by this new attitude described so vividly, forcefully and frequently when the students say, "I was a very religious child," or "I accepted on faith everything my parents and my teachers told me, and then I began to think for myself." Since they were not trained to see the relation between their religious thought and their secular knowledge, the inevitable result is that intellectual difficulties begin in real earnest. Both intellectual attitudes lead in a large measure to a feeling of irreconcilable conflict between religion and science and the outcome invariably is defeat for religion. The influences of the religious schools and the homes instead of relieving the strain tend to aggravate it. They in fact help to create it. This study clearly shows that (1) those with the personal concept of God and those with the unknown attitude towards God, take their religion very much for granted and are therefore never much disturbed with intellectual difficulties. They have, in the largest number, left the question unanswered and have the smallest percentage in both tables. (2) All the others, from the synagogue affiliated groups, who form the great majority, have more confusion and conflict than the synagogue unaffiliated, the religiously trained, more than the religiously untrained. Those who were privileged to have the longest duration of religious training, have the greatest proportions of intellectual difficulties.

What is this conflict between religion and science, that causes so much confusion, that gives rise to so many intellectual difficulties? Just what is it that the students do not clearly understand? A group discussion makes it evident, quickly and forcefully, that they know little about science and less about religion. The university does not provide them with a definite interpretation of the former, nor does the religious school teach them the latter in its relation to the present environment. It must be recognized that there are two distinct points of view, the scientific and the religious or pre-scientific. Science is both inductive and deductive, but largely inductive, but religion is invariably deductive. Mind has developed science and mind has made religion. In science ever new hypotheses are formed from the analysis of new facts that are learned and then taken to nature or reality for verification. Religion feels that it has obtained all the truth in revelation. Religion is reluctant to go to reality for constant verification because it is thought unnecessary. The method of science is based on analysis, hypothesis, verification, while the method of religion is based on revelation, faith, authority. Science, ever seeking more truth, a better interpretation of reality, is always pushing out the limits of knowledge while religion, believing the final word of truth and morality has been spoken, remains stationary. That is why a change in the scientific outlook is generally looked upon as a gain, a victory for science, while an alteration in the religious outlook is considered a loss, a defeat for religion. It seems as though there were a competition between the scientific and the religious point of view to gain the loyalty of our youth. Some do retain their hold upon the religious outlook, others have a divided allegiance. Most of the respondents, however, are developing a loyalty to the scientific point of view. That this is a marked trend has been shown in the chapters on the God idea and will be revealed throughout the entire study. That this allegiance to the scientific outlook will grow deeper and stronger is inevitable. The number of students who have attended the high schools and the colleges and universities has, since the beginning of this century, increased enormously. They are immersed in a scientific atmosphere. They are continually impressed in their studies with

the scientific method. They use it unceasingly in the laboratories and class rooms. They are, in consequence, unconsciously making it the basic habit of their thinking.

To develop the ability to study every subject objectively, even to recognize that there have been and still are other approaches than the scientific and to study every civilization from the point of view from which it developed and to judge every man's life from his own outlook, is the purpose of the scientific method but it is a goal not always attained by the student. His mind has but one viewpoint and he looks at and judges all subjects from that standpoint. The thoughts and contributions of other people are not understood, are confusing and conflicting. He considers them consequently worth little and thrusts them aside.

This helps to explain the doubt and confusion regarding religion in the mind of the student. The conflict of science and religion is a conflict of two points of view. The student has the scientific outlook and judges his religion from that standard. The methods used in the religious school fail to make clear the marked difference between the knowledge and interpretation of the universe from which religion developed and that prevalent today, between the pre-scientific and the scientific outlook. All knowledge is relative, relative to the point of view from which it developed. A culture can be appreciated only when there is sympathy with, and understanding, of its viewpoint. It is not difficult to understand revelation, divine sanction of the Written as well as of the Oral Law, miracle and myth, reward and punishment and the many other features of the religious experience of the Bible and Talmud, with the outlook upon the world of early and biblical days, with their limited knowledge of nature and natural laws and with their concept of God. The psychology of the Orient was different from ours. What they of old believed were forces outside of man, that spoke to them, as the burning bush, angels, God, we today believe are forces within man, as an urge, conscience, creative thinking. No attempt is made to interpret these religious ideas in terms of the culture of the time, nor to render clear and unmistakable that the point of view prevalent then is much different from the one held now. These serious

psychological mistakes are made in nearly every Jewish religious school. Most teachers are not even aware of this interpretation, they do not know of it. They take the Bible literally and present history and Bible lessons accordingly, and the child not knowing differently, accepts what is taught him. That is the testimony of so many students. In adolescence, the stories and their application and the history, taught them as children, no longer fit in with their new knowledge. They seem childish and are uninspiring. Students do not understand nor appreciate them and so readily forget them, but they always retain a sense of futility and a feeling of conflict. The religious schools seem to have defeated their very purpose. Instead of a deep impression of the beauty and the moral grandeur of the thoughts and lives of these early religious geniuses and the abiding inspiration that we in our own day and in our own way can follow in their footsteps, and like them can meet our problems and endeavor to solve them, all that survives in the minds of the students is the feeling that the religious concepts and thoughts taught them are antiquated and have no meaning today. In place of inspiration and an urge to carry on, are doubt and confusion. The religious schools themselves, unwittingly it seems, stand convicted of intensifying and spreading far and wide this belief in the conflict of science and religion. The inevitable outcome is either indifference, the students turning their thought and attention to other subjects or activities, more interesting and more vital than religion, or what is even worse, a scrapping of the whole subject as useless and worthless, as belonging to another age and another civilization. The value and influence of Judaism have broken down. The wisdom and the insight accumulated through generations of prophets, lawgivers, psalmists and martyrs are in danger of being lost. The possibilities of the continuity of the faith through reinterpretation and reconstruction are detroyed.

The situation is made more confusing by the inability of the student to keep in touch with the more recent developments of science, its larger interpretation of reality. Of the three aspects of science, a content, a method, a philosophy, it was with science as a philosophy that the conflict with religion has been most intense and bitter. Since Descartes, and especially

since the establishment of Newton's discoveries of the laws of physics, science interpretated the world as materialistic and mechanistic. In this interpretation there is no room for religion, morality or God. Many an earnest religious thinker has set up this materialistic interpretation as a foil in contrast with which to develop a religious and spiritual conception of life. On this same basis, many students have found justification for constructing a materialistic philosophy of life, of thrusting aside all claims of religion and even of pulling down the standards of morality. Religion championed the spiritual interpretation of the universe against the mechanistic defended by science. Science has advanced far beyond the position it occupied fifty years ago when it seemed to exclude most of the experienced facts of life and humanity from the world it described. "We still linger on with fragmentory and confused scraps of the speculative dogmas of the 19th century long since abandoned by scientists themselves."[2] The materialistic and mechanistic interpretations have been abandoned. "The last triumph of analysis reveals not a simple element, an atom or an electron but a system of organization, a complex system of processes, a periodic energy as the ultimate term of explanation."[3] "Where the Newtonian world dealt with objects, substances or things, to which time was a mere accident, contemporary physics finds its units not in things but in processes and events."[4] There is room, in this newer interpretation, for freedom, purpose and God. Man is free to set up what purpose he will and then call upon science to aid him in reaching his goal. Science does not now deny the religious outlook of the spiritual nature of the universe. That will make the task of religion so much easier. That science recognized the claims of religion, is directing its attention to it, may prove an added incentive to students to give more time and attention to religion.

It does not mean, however, as many religionists believe, that religion can go its way unmolested and untroubled by science. Such thinkers as Edington, Jeans and Bertram Russell are at-

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[2] Randall, *Our Chnging Civilization*, p. 247.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 228.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

tempting to interweave their scientific and religious theories about God and the Universe. Most physicists, however, according to Haldane, will stick to the realm with which they are most familiar and in which they are most at home. The anthropologists, and psychologists, however, have most carefully studied the religions of all peoples and all tribes from the very earliest times. A better understanding of the purposes of religion and the part it has and still must play have been afforded us by these investigations. Religion has become a subject for scientific study in the fields of Psychology and Sociology.

As a philosophy, science in its broadest interpretation has no quarrel with religion. But as a method, the conflict between science and religion still exists. This conflict can ultimately be solved, I believe, in only one way; religion must become scientific. Not that science is to be substituted for religion and itself become a religion. That is impossible, for science is a method and method cannot play the part of religion. Science is the best method as yet devised to seek the truth and to learn the nature of reality and to determine man's relation to the cosmos. The truth regarding religion, its character, its history, its function, can best be ascertained through reason. The scientific method would lessen, if it did not destroy, the seemingly irresolvable conflict between science and religion in the mind of the student that ends disastrously for religion. If the student had really developed the scientific method, the ability to examine different cultures from different points of view—that he has it only in part, is the weakness of his university training—and if the religious school used the scientific method in its religious instruction—that it does not is the weakness of all religious education—the adolescent would understand, appreciate and be able to determine the value of his religious knowledge. That science is no longer materialistic, no longer even believes in matter in the traditional sense; that science is no longer mechanistic and that there is room for freedom is a great relief and comfort for religionists. "That scientific theories take much more account of religion, morality and artistic creation and have developed methods for dealing scientifically with such concerns will make adherence to traditional beliefs all the more impos-

sible,"[5] but will be of inestimable value to the understanding, the appreciation and the development of religion.

The scientific study of the religions of all peoples have brought to light that religion grew out of the economic, the political, and the social background of the people. The Randalls, in "Religion and the Modern World" say, "Anthropologists have come to realize that religion has been not a definite institution that can be isolated from the texture of life, but an organization of the feelings and the activities of men around all those elements in their experience that have seemed emotionally significant. Religion has expressed and colored the entire round of culture, it has embraced everything in human life that men have deeply felt. It has consecrated the normal social relations, the accustomed techniques of living; it has built up an intensity of emotional repugnance to any violation of the ordinary procedure. It has also given particular expression to men's feelings and acts in the face of whatever in their experience seemed extraordinary and mysterious."[6] The religion of the Bible has had so universal an appeal because it developed out of, and interpreted, the religious experience of the Jewish people in its relation to their family, their fellowmen, their government, the universe and God. Judaism has assimilated the best of the many cultures with which it has come into contact during the long course of its wonderful history and, amid all its development and changes in interpretation and outlook, it has never ceased to guide and direct all the deeds and activities of all its people from the cradle to the grave. Religion and life have always been synonymous. That has been its glory and its strength.

But neither Judaism nor any other organized religion has assimilated the newer scientific point of view nor the civilization that has developed from it. Because it neither understands nor is in sympathy with them but always turns almost entirely to the past for its outlook and inspiration, religion can be of no real help or guidance for the present. How can we harmonize religion, which seems to go one way, with what might be termed the

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

[6] John Herman Randall and John Herman Randall, Jr., *Religion and the Modern World*, p. 70.

secularization of life, which goes another? That is our dilemma, our problem. How can the moral insights, the wisdom, the religious principles and ideas acquired through centuries of suffering, sacrifice and martyrdom, be reinterpreted and reconstructed so as to be integrated into the living and thinking of today? The purpose is not to destroy religion but to make it again ever more dynamic and effective. A close alliance between religion and science alone can attain this end.

The difference between science and religion, strongly insisted upon, is that science has to do with facts and religion with value. Would that religion would accept the responsibility and the task to determine the value not only of the thought of the past, but even more so, the value of the political, the economic, and the social life of today. So many elements enter into the ability to determine value; the need to secure the facts, to interpret them and then to judge from the data, what is worthwhile and what is not. A scientifically trained mind only can do this objectively. Fact and value, knowledge and wisdom, developed through the coöperation of science and religion, can create that informed public opinion, through which alone the institutions of our civilization can be maintained, safeguarded and developed. Religion must call upon science, not only to be able to determine value, but even to set up the most worthwhile goals and purposes. Would religion become a part of, and grow out of, the experience of the individual? Then it must learn the needs and interests of the child and of youth and determine upon the kind of personality it would help to develop. Would religion participate in the real struggle of our age and civilization, a struggle not against physical forces but against social forces, not against nature but against human nature, to eliminate the selfishness, the intolerance, the hatred that have caused so much suffering and misery to all mankind, especially to Israel? Religion then must determine what attitudes it desires to develop and how attitudes can be changed, and even more, how human nature can be changed, which I believe eventually can and will be done. Would religion develop an integrated life, the specific function of religion? Then it must determine what the integrated life is, as well as how it can be attained. If all of these

are processes of character education, then not only must religion be made to fit into higher education, but education in general must be made adequate for modern times, to accomplish which, religion might lend a helping hand. If to determine these purposes adequately and to attain these goals approximately, if not completely, religion must call for aid upon the physical and social sciences; religion itself must become scientific.

X

The Students' Belief in the Inadequacy of Religious Customs and Ceremonies.

The customs and ceremonies of Judaism are not surviving the intellectual difficulties in the present as they did those in the past. That they are not, is due to the change of habits, activities and interests brought about by the secularization of life. Students unconsciously feel that these practices do not fit into present day living and either break away from, or are unconcerned about, them. That accounts for the trend of so large a number of students away from religious observances.

In Chapter VIII "Religion deepened or unchanged" we have the group of students who manifest a love and devotion to the religious ceremonies and symbols they learned especially from the precepts and practices in their home environment and who, under difficulties and at a sacrifice, carry them over and continue their observance while at the university. Nearly three times their number are those, however, who reveal an unfavorable attitude towards these same customs and ceremonies and are inclined to change or reject them. To this subject two chapters are devoted: in this chapter, "Disbelief in or rejection of Judaism as to customs and ceremonies", and in the subsequent chapter, "Change of the conception of Judaism from a religion of customs to that of a civilization, race and morality." The present chapter has two sections (a) Nature of Change, Section 3, Disbelief in and rejection of Judaism as to customs and ceremonies and (b) the Cause of Change, Section 3, Dissatisfaction with the forms of religion. Both sections have to do with the students' attitude towards Jewish customs and ceremonies and can well be considered together under the title "The Students Find Religious Customs Inadequate."

Statistics

A. *Nature of Change*

Disbelief in, or rejection of, Judaism as to customs and ceremonies—(Tables XVI, XXVI and XXXVIII).

TABLE XXVI

Nature of Change

Percentages of 1171 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Nature of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Nature of change of attitude towards Judaism	A Types of religious instruction					B Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
3.....	Disbelief in or rejection of Judaism as to customs, ceremonies or beliefs	26	24	32	30	27	26	26	27	27

In Table XVI, the same difference is found between the unaffiliated group and the synagogue affiliated groups. Among the three groups with synagogue affiliation, the orthodox has the largest percentage. Two reasons can be given. (1) A small group, mostly orthodox who desired the reconstruction or reinterpretation of Judaism, increased the percentage. (2) The students who came from orthodox homes with an atmosphere of rigid religious observance and have an intensive religious training are more inclined to disbelieve in, or reject, the religious customs than the others.

In Section 3, Table XXVI, the difference between the religiously schooled and the unschooled seems to disappear. The training in the observance of customs is developed through the home influence more than the religious school. At least one-half of those without religious education do come from homes with a religious background and manifest to about the same extent a similar attitude of disbelief and rejection as do the religiously trained. The students from the Talmud Torahs and with private instruction, because of their religious background and education, have a slightly higher percentage of dissent.

In Section 3, Table XXXVIII, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude towards God columns have the smallest percentages. The students with these concepts are conservative in their feeling, accept on the whole the traditions and customs and are not inclined to question or dissent. The Agnostic and Atheistic columns that contributed so few to "Religion deepened or unchanged" have in this section by far the largest percentages, especially the Agnostic column. The other God concept columns have of course a larger percentage than that of the Personal concept of God column.

B. *Causes of Change*

Dissatisfaction with the forms of religion—(Tables XVII, XXVII and XXXIX.)

When the students expressed their dissatisfaction with the forms of religion they most frequently gave at least two or three reasons. These could not be considered separately but two, three or more had to be grouped together as one. If all the

various reasons given were counted separately the percentages of this section would be much larger.

TABLE XVII

CAUSES OF CHANGE

PERCENTAGES OF 1111 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THE CAUSES OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM

SECTION	CAUSES OF THE CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
3....	Dissatisfaction with forms of religion	53	40	48	33	40

The comments to be made on this set of tables are practically the same as those for the "Nature of Change" and can be summed up very briefly. The difference between the unaffiliated group and the synagogue affiliated groups is still evident in this section as well as in others. There is a larger divergence among the percentages of the three religious groups than in most of the tables. The conservatives have the highest percentage, the orthodox second and the reform third. The conservative and orthodox groups are subject to the most rigid religious influences at home and are most familiar with the traditional customs and usages and they protest in the largest number.

In Section 3, Table XXVII the difference between those without religious training and those with religious training again disappears as in several of the preceding tables. There is a remarkable similarity among all four groups, those from the three types of religious schools and those with no religious training. This seems to indicate again that the home exerts a strong influence, much more so than the religious school. Against these religious customs and ceremonies as taught, the students protest.

In Section 3, Table XXXIX, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude towards God columns naturally have the

lowest percentages as in the other tables; the Atheistic and Agnostic groups are at the other extreme with the highest percentages. The Skeptical group leans towards the standing of the Personal concept of God column while the Subjective and the Deistic columns lean toward those of the Atheistic and Agnostic.

II. *What the Students Say*

A. *Nature of Change*

Disbelief, Rejection or Reconstruction—The impression, the reading of the many replies leaves, is that the students are dissatisfied with, disbelieve in, and reject, some or most of the customs, some or the larger part of organized religion but they still adhere to Judaism. Some still observe the ceremonies because of habit or to please their parents. Though they have no faith in them, they eagerly hope for a development that will fit them into their thoughts and action, that will bring about a reinterpretation or reconstruction of Judaism. The opinions expressed by the students on this subject are so rich and so abundant in suggestions that it is exceedingly difficult to limit the number selected for illustration. They speak freely and forcefully, not only about customs in general but in particular about morals, Bible reading, synagogue attendance, religious services and personal prayers. All of these will be treated separately in discussing these various subjects. For this chapter is reserved their expressions as to the inadequacy of religious customs for present day life.

In A, several illustrations of this attitude are given and in B, a detailed outline of many of the reasons for this belief. This unfavorable attitude towards the customs is manifested because (a) they are irksome and unprogressive, (b) they all go if one custom is disregarded or broken, (c) the belief in them is destroyed by a knowledge of science, (d) the feeling for them is altered as soon as one thinks for himself about them, (e) a secular agency can be substituted for them, (f) they must be reconstructed to meet the times.

a. *Customs are irksone and unprogressive.*

"From a youthful attachment to Judaism for the emotional stimulus of its ceremonial and ritual (accompanied by the acceptance of authoritative dicta—parental, etc.—as to the literal truth of Bible) my attitude changed, first to an antagonism because of the irksomeness of orthodox religious observance; attending synagogue, praying in the morning, preparing Hebrew lessons, etc.; and second, after preliminary doubts as to literal truth of the Bible, a complete rejection of it as anything but literature and legend; an agnosticism towards the existence of any governing Being in the world process, a rejection of ceremonial (synagogue) as indicative of no emotional satisfaction, skepticism as to the social utility of the synogogue, and disgust with the tradition-bound faction in the orthodox synagogue, as well as with the many of the reformed groups which persist in calling themselves religious when their apparent desire is for divertisement and amusing weekly lectures."

"In a reform Sunday school, dogmatic Judaism was stuffed into me which I accepted. As I became more rational and did not accept everything told to me, a certain sort of agnosticism came upon me, especially as to the religious ceremonies. The insincerity of rabbinical students with whom I came into contact became apparent. I read Spinoza and Descartes, the rationalism of the two appealing to me far more than the Jewish doctrines. My belief in a religious spiritual being became confused with a sort of pantheism and then I came to believe in the idea that all religion was man-made and became agnostic (to be an atheist is as dogmatic as to affirm the existence of God) and from that point became a modified mechanist as I have explained. I remain a Jew racially but not religiously."

"I was brought up in a very orthodox family, made to observe all the religious rites while I was young but since then I have come to have a feeling of skepticism, disbelief of most of the customs. I still think these things are beautiful when carried out in the orthodox manner and I can't stand the half way method that most people employ because compromise is silly and usually means unintelligent people."

"I respect Judaism for the contributions it has made but feel that it cannot concern my life. Only the moral teachings concern us and most of them are covered by laws of our government. The causes of change are increase in knowledge, conflict of religion and science, feeling that Judaism doesn't meet any particular needs and wants, is unprogressive and unsatisfying, doesn't tell you anything you want to know. If I gave the same explanation in exams that the Bible and teachers give us, I would have been flunked out of college long ago."

b. *If one custom is disregarded or broken all the customs go.*

"The child is too busy asking simple questions to grapple with that of religion. I did not think seriously about this until I came to college. When the idea of a God and an after life breaks down, the rituals and ceremonies lose their significance, seem elaborate and purposeless, though one can see beauty in the language and sentiment."

"The business conditions in America also have something to do with the lack of observance, as it is not possible to refrain from going to work on most Jewish holidays. In a few cases of course, it is possible to be excused from work but the observance of only a few holidays tends to break down the whole structure."

"Earlier in life, i.e., between the ages of 6 and 13, I was a firm believer in Judaism. This was probably on account of my youth for as such all precepts taught me were (I might say, had to be) believed and remembered. During my high school days many of these beliefs went by the board for with the advanced education and the necessity of having to think more for myself, confusion and doubt arose. It became hard to believe that Moses was able to open a path through the sea, etc. I, of course, in spite of this doubt, have forced myself to believe in these incidents because it was, I suppose, my duty to do so. At present and for the most part during my three years of college, I am indifferent to these matters. To a small extent, this is because of a certain belief in the insincerity, not of the movement but of some of the leaders of it. (I add that I refer to a young man of my own age.) Again, so far as campus life is concerned, there can be no doubt in my mind that an air of general indifference and even negligence is prevalent. This may be due—as far as I am concerned it is—to the fact that most of the boys have too many other activities—athletic and social—and therefore as they say, have no time to bother with Judaism or anything concerning religion. It is no common sight to see fellows smoking on Saturdays. As far as I am concerned I have no qualms about it. One must realize of course that here there are Saturday lectures and one starts to regard Saturday as an ordinary day and not as the Sabbath. All this tends to aid the feeling of indifference towards religion, to which one in time, speaking generally with the utmost confidence, college students arrive at."

c. *A belief in them is destroyed by a knowledge of science.*

"First I was led to embrace Orthodox Judaism by adolescent romanticism, aided and abetted by desire for the social prestige which the Rabbinate would bring. Development of a critical attitude led to need for reconciliation between religion and reality—which was effected through philosophic rationalization.

Once in a groove, this process left me there. When, however, a combination of incidents adversely affecting my private life through the agency of the same group whose approval had previously been so important to me, together with intolerance and above all the stupidity of those nominally my betters, were not only sufficient to remove all needs and desires for rationalization but to awaken an attitude which due to my aforementioned adverse experience, weighed religion as a whole on the scale of social worth rather than sentimentality. Here it was found woefully lacking. There has been as a result a complete change of interest, sufficient to make even this recitation irritating in the extreme. There has thus been not so much a change in ideas recently as a break in the dike, as it were, which permitted the ideas stored away by rationalization to come out at last."

"Since early childhood I have been closely attached to everything Jewish, but there was no forcing towards observance. I observed orthodoxy as life because I liked it also perhaps because of commendation from others. I began to doubt and see paradoxes as to existence of Jewish notion of free will and God's personal guidance, at age of 13 but decided consciously not to allow inconsistencies in the synagogue and these paradoxes to have any effect on my actions until I reached an age when I could definitely decide (21 or 22 yrs.). I discussed religious questions with friends almost daily, found myself taking religious side when discussing with agnostics, atheists and opposite side with my religious friends. Never reached any conclusions. Now I see religion and nationality as a necessary evil ingrained in us through heredity. I prefer to keep myself as much as is possible clear of its limitations and would not want to do anything to strengthen it in others. I explain this attitude in myself as being a reaction to a deep study in scientific subjects which was retarded by my religious studies and affiliations."

"As a member of the Talmud Torah, the breaking of customs, etc., was a sin, but now I feel that religion to me is not a lot of customs such as women sitting apart from men at services or changing dishes for Pesach, and because I know so many that believe in such things, I can't help but doubt that they are not thinking for themselves but are blindly following the unscientific actions, (that is, compared with today) of their forefathers."

"I am not saying that the Jewish laws of living are all wrong, there are many that are good but the average mass cannot realize that we are in a new age and must change with the time; I think religion must change with the time. Religion is too much superstition. But the acquiring of knowledge, especially science, has given me true light on the actions of the world; religion does not give me the satisfaction that science does."

d. *The feeling for them is altered as soon as one questions them.*

"I was born into an orthodox, Zionist family, where most Jewish customs are adhered to. But I early decided that the observance of the Jewish laws,

etc. is not true religion. I read the Bible because I enjoyed the stories. I soon discontinued classes at Sunday school, because of the way I was taught there; I rarely if ever went to synagogue, (and then only for the music on high holidays) because I thought the leaders were insincere and hypocritical. Judaism to me does not mean observing the Dietary Laws, keeping the Sabbath and so on, and never did. A too strict adherence to the minute laws of Judaism is narrowing, and clannish, and represses individuality. That is the great fault that I find with Judaism. It swamps all efforts at individuality. One must be a Jew first and then oneself—For my part, I believe the reverse to be most sensible. These conclusions I have reached through personal thought and reason."

"As far as Judaism is concerned an early doubt of its endless tradition soon resulted in disbelief and indifference. I cannot conceive of a petty God who requires so many useless practices and segregation for mere satisfaction. They do not seem to benefit human personality or deep religious faith. Science has not entered much in changing this conception. I can correlate science and religion to my own satisfaction. I do have a firm belief in God, which makes me a social being. Religion with me is an individual and personal thing entirely."

"The educational training has broadened my view on religion and caused me to think for myself. Therefore, I prefer my own way of praying to the Deity. At home I was restrained and held in by my family but at college I developed an independent spirit, breaking down everything I learned at home. I believe that after college I may go back. In my junior year I am getting agnostic. My father showed me men at college are inclined to be agnostic and after that the realization of the folly of it brought them back."

"At first, I accepted everything connected with Judaism blindly, (to be specific, the orthodox way of thinking); but with the passing of years, I have come to see, as far as I am concerned that so many of the customs are but fetishes and accordingly my respect for the religion has gone down considerably, (I may say for the whole religion). I have begun to doubt, I think, more than about the trivial things."

e. *A secular agency can be substituted for them.*

"My early training instilled in me a deep appreciation and satisfaction with the Jewish religion. When I came to college, I became acquainted with different cultures and I became dissatisfied with the dogmas of orthodox Judaism. There followed confusion, disbelief, doubt and then indifference. My interests today and the problems that concern me are with general, social, economic, political and philosophical problems and not with anything specifically Jewish."

"My parents did not try to force religion onto me. If I chose not to adhere to any of the religious laws and customs their objections were not very severe. Thus I had every opportunity to do as I thought best and I might say, I feel all the better for it today. I must confess that I possessed a greater desire for being free—free from religious customs and teachings. It seemed to me that life could be made so much more pleasant for me without them. However, if you can separate Judaism from religion, as you have evidently failed to do according to the arrangement of the questionnaire, I do not think that there is a greater Jewish patriot in this community (Jewish community—80,000) than myself. Quite often I have some very interesting conversations with my father about the progress in Palestine. At times I simply feel like leaping into the air for joy when I hear of what a model country Palestine is. I assure you that in time of need my people can always depend on me to do my share. If that means anything, then I am a great Judaist and my sympathies for Judaism are becoming greater from day to day."

"My changes in thought concerning Judaism are necessarily part of my changes in thought concerning all religion in general. I cannot believe in organized religion as today practiced simply because the underlying basis of the religions to me does not exist. There is no such being as a "Supreme Being". However, I have become religious in a somewhat different sense—morally religious. It is just simply my awe at the complexity of life. My religion is not one with a theology, a creed, or anything similar. I realize my insignificance in the face of all these complexities that make up matter and all things existing. Being nothing but a feeling it can have no theology. My education has not made me an atheist.—I merely have a new feeling toward a God and religion. It has nothing in common with organized religion."

"The change that occurred in my attitude toward the universe was a change away from organized religion, not necessarily away from Judaism. While there are many types of people professing Judaism who repel me, Judaism itself does not. I became aware of the irrationality of existence, its apparent injustice and cruelty, things that were to be met only by the most careful adjustment of values and actions, and not by the repetition of catch and meaningless phrases assuring a divine being of his omnipotence and inscrutability. (An escape from reality)."

"Before coming to college, I was as much of a disbeliever as I am now, however, I thought that my disbelief might be due to my ignorance of the principles and teachings of the Jewish Religion. However, further knowledge only served to illustrate the completely fabulous basis of all religious sects, etc. I admire the Jewish traditions, their perseverance, but I think that no one who is truly intellectually honest can bring himself to believe that myths, legends and history are a living ethical standard. They are a stirring tale, but why

live them over again, why try to isolate more than need be an already painfully isolated people. Why be proud of our traditions . . . I never had religious training pressed upon me at home, so I am entirely unbiased. A brief experience of four years at this college has impressed me with the great necessity of assimilating ourselves with the other sects—of becoming less conspicuous in every way."

f. *They must be reconstructed.*

"Ever since the high school stage a change in regard to Judaism has taken place within me. It has gradually come over me that attendance at synagogue, observance of dietary laws and various other ceremonies were without significance to me. It seemed to me that I was doing them with no knowledge of the cause. Besides they were made part of me as a matter of course and no highly sought motive was attached. In short I was repeating religious ceremony through custom and became merely an organism of tradition. It came over me therefore to exercise a certain amount of good sense and critical judgment and pursue only those ceremonies which have some beneficial or desirable significance."

"Judaism was foisted upon me. I never chose it, consciously. That is why the customs in which we have been inculcated slip so easily. There never was a rational reason given for their observance. Orthodoxy by its very nature admits of no change. Higher text criticism has revealed the Bible as a heterogeneous conglomeration of acculturated myths, of cruel and bloody wars, of extinctions of a chauvenistic chimera of racial supremacy, of a system of moral duty which crushes the light of living. Once when I was ignorant I was confident. Now, the sham structure has toppled—one is confused. The paradoxes in Judaism, the narrow particularism—the universality of the prophets—many of the concepts considered characteristically Jewish are but expression of a certain universality of thought—There must be a revaluation of Judaism—neither the present type of reform nor orthodoxy is vital. The former has been stripped of its noisy synagogue and is somnolent. Reform Judaism, like the Christians, has made the chasm too deep when it split from its parent. Theoretically, conservative Judaism follows the Aristotelean middle way but in practice is wishy-washy neither fish nor fowl."

"When I was young I used to observe all Jewish customs. But now I seem to find some of them senseless, for instance, not eating milk with meat. Also it seems foolish to observe all little holidays that happened thousands of years ago. What have they to do with the present? Of course I realize that it is nice to remember them and for what they stand but in this present day and age some of them seem to be so needless and useless. In the olden days whenever something came up that required to be remembered a holiday was de-

clared and through customs it has come down to this present day. But what do we need those holidays for? Their significance has long since passed away and now they interfere with our present day activities. Of course if this were over in the old country where correct observance can be had, it would be different. But in this country I would say that we need and are trying to get the idea that 'When in Rome do as the Romans.' Some parts of the Bible are misleading especially to a modern student who has studied chemistry and physics. We will gradually come to change the Bible to a more modern version and also change the Jewish customs to suit our needs."

"During the first fifteen years of my life, I was merely a tool of my parents. They sent me to Sunday school, etc. and naturally without thinking I accepted almost everything I was told. I am of a rather serious nature and took Judaism rather seriously. When I went away to college I started thinking about some of these problems. I then realized the sham and insincerity of most organized religion. I realized that what my own people said about the Catholic religion and its ignorance was in part true of Judaism. Judaism at the Reform temple however had always been very liberal. My present belief is that religion is life. That religion is not separated from life but is one part of life itself. Religion should be that force which continually points to truth. Instead most rabbis have to lie to their congregation, as well as other ministers and try to give them solace in some spiritual lie. We are Jews and have to live as such. First let us know all about Judaism and then try to help in making a Jewish contribution. I agree that the artificialities should be dropped. This must be gradual and I therefore do not laugh at my believing parents. Life is futile but we are here, therefore let's make the best of it. If my parents can find greater happiness in their religion, I would be the last to take it from them. I cannot be happy with it. I must have a religion based on truth and reason. I am deeply interested in all Jewish life and its problems. Religion is only one side of it. Some of the best Jews, know Judaism and its teachings and practice them far more than the religious leaders."

"The conflict between science and religion is of great interest to me. That there is considerable difficulty in reconciling traditional Judaism with science is true although the difficulty is infinitely less than in the case of Christianity. I believe that reason is the most precious gift that God has bestowed upon man and it was His intention that it be used. It is by the exercise and development of this faculty that man as an individual can make himself fine and mankind collectively may attain to well being and a higher standard of life. No dogmas should hinder the expansion of the mind. I do not hold that that which is commonly termed faith is the essential of religion. God is not angry with any man who does not believe in Him. He is not like a military officer whose dignity is offended when one of his men fails to give him the salute. The term

essence of religion is not faith in the sense of mere credulity but rather hope. In other words a man is not to be commended so much for being certain that there is a God, as for hoping that there is a God. For the Judaism of history I have great admiration. I believe that its peculiar outlook and customs have had a profound influence in the moulding of the Jewish character. When the Jews lived their own lives and according to their own law they were distinguished for their manner of living to which history bears testimony and tribute. The Jew of the Ghetto was sober and chaste, peaceable, humane and charitable. These virtues were certainly the result of the benevolent Jewish teachings and the self-control acquired from the daily observance of customs and ceremonies. The Ghetto is however no more and no one could wish it restored. With the altered outlook of the modern Jew, the old customs can no longer have the same meaning. I myself continue to observe some of them purely out of respect for my parents and others, be it confessed, as a result of habit and training. There is however something else. One can no longer regard dietary laws and the peculiar rites constituting Sabbath day as ordered by God. Nevertheless these customs and ceremonies have acquired a certain sacredness from the fact that they have been handed down through so many generations of men who suffered martyrdom and underwent suffering for a religion of which these things formed a part. In a modified form they still have their sentimental appeal."

"In my youth, I was intensely religious. Then two things happened. (1) I began to realize that many of my beliefs were incompatible with science or modern thought, (2) I felt that many of the religious customs, etc. encroached on my freedom and liberty. I also observed that Judaism practiced by my religious elders, the manner of observance, etc. in the synagogue was far from ideal. I concluded that (1) Jewish religion as practiced by the orthodox has become decrepit and out-of-date. (2) Reform Judaism has also failed for it wanted to make of Judaism a religion only. (3) The solution seems to be to my way of thinking, in changing religion to fit the new advances made in our society. In other words we must do as the Pharisees and their later followers did, allow Judaism to develop. If it remains unchanged it must die."

B. *The Causes of Change*

Dissatisfaction with the Forms of Religion—Many of the reasons given for this dissatisfaction are arranged in a systematic form. I—Judaism in one or more aspects has lost its significance and influence, but it is still necessary. II—Neither the present practices of Judaism nor their explanation give satisfaction. III—Judaism as an organized religion or as customs and ceremonies has lost its meaning.

I. *Judaism in one or more aspects has lost its significance and influence, but it is still necessary.*

a. *Not satisfied with them, but they have their purpose.*

"I don't practice customs, but they have their place."

"It is important because it holds people together."

"Religion has lost meaning but observance is necessary to preserve the nation."

"Intellectual respect as regards some tradition, emotional as regards racial side but as a religion, an expression of faith in a God, it no longer means much."

"Do not believe in religious forms but to have freedom from bewilderment will accept the standardized form of Reform Judaism (cowardly of course)."

"Customs and observances ridiculous but believe in Judaism because of social value and I can't help it."

"Indifference in religion, intensely loyal to Judaism intellectually and to Jews that in deepest sense are unique among peoples."

"Should exist for unification of people and aid toward moral betterment."

"Sometimes I don't believe in religion though I know smarter men than I do believe in it."

"Do not observe customs but feel need of synagogue."

"They are a force for the retention of law and for civil relations between them."

"Don't believe in them, but there must be something spiritual back of them but haven't perceived it."

"Certain customs lovely enough to be observed, other unnecessary."

"Customs beautiful when carried out in orthodox fashion—halfway method silly."

"Do not believe in God—will support Judaism though there is a paradox."

b. *Necessary for others.*

"Religion is necessary for the majority who have no time to work out a moral code."

"Religion necessary for the unenlightened majority, to continue religion which for them is a necessity.

"Religion something to which people revert as they grow older or as a comfort in time of trouble."

"It may be necessary and desirable for parents."

"Superstition—necessary for the unthinking."

II. *Neither the present customs and ceremonies of Judaism nor their explanation are satisfactory.*

a. *Unsatisfactory.*

"No explanation."
"Such is the custom," is not a satisfactory answer.
"Explanation is so indefinite."
"Observance is matter of habit."
"Answers as well as observances are inadequate."

b. *Does not implant faith nor deepen it.*

"Ceremonies are beautiful, now indecorous but do not implant faith."

c. *Too much inconvenience.*

'Too many customs and ceremonies—only few needed."
"Customs too boring. Gave up hope of becoming Rabbi because it involved too much work and too much inconvenience."
"Irksomeness of orthodox religious observance attending synagogue, praying in morning, preparing Hebrew lessons, etc."
"Skepticism as to social utility of synagogue."
"They take away liberty."
"They are a handicap."
"They are too repetitive."

d. *Produces deadening effect or worse.*

"Attendance at services hypocritical."
"Orthodox hackneyed and stereotyped. Reform no religion at all."
"Ceremonies are fanatical."
"Religion is futile, repeating service means little to me. Religion has become a business."
"Pervaded with superstition and humbug, breaks unimportant custom and learns to violate big principle."

e. *Does not induce emotional satisfaction.*

"Ceremonial in synagogue does not induce emotional satisfaction."
"Does not mean much. Exerts no influence."
"Get so little out of them—does not interest youth."

f. *Does not provide for prestige of woman.*

"No provision for the equality of woman in the synagogue."

III. *Judaism with its customs and ceremonies has lost its meaning.*

a. *No need for it.*

"Feels no pressing need for religion."

"Feels no need for organized religion, only for God."

"Lack of sympathy with organized religious activities and popularized ceremonies. The ceremony is insignificant and superficial."

"Disgust with tradition-bound factions in orthodox synagogue."

"Disgust with many reform groups which persist in calling themselves religious when apparent desire is for divertisement and amusing weekly lectures."

"Inability to believe in orthodox Judaism."

b. *Man-made and therefore subject to change and alteration.*

"Religion too primitive and for time it was made, bound to pass away like Hellenism."

"Customs are for the times in which they were written."

"Don't observe some customs (but do others) because they are not suitable for present time. Religion has become a memory."

"Religion not constant but changing according to people's whims."

"Some traditions seem ridiculous today but I can well understand why they were lived up to in earlier days."

"To observe letter of law made so long ago is to have form without spirit."

"Orthodox view of God and Bible has not changed."

"Came into existence too many years ago and under different conditions."

c. *Does not meet needs of today.*

"Opposed to organized religion because it is impossible to train thinking individual in standardized thought on such fundamental subject as faith."

"Orthodox ritual does not conciliate with modern life."

"Not dynamic force which changes in accord with human capacity to understand."

"Change religion to meet new advances—Judaism must develop."

"Basic good is subordinated to outward services which ought to be secondary—individual all important; development is necessary if religion is to be of influence."

"Average congregation has nothing to offer Jewish youth."

"Religion is life. Deeply interested in Jewish life."

"Organized religion is mostly dogmatizing."

"There ought to be developmental workout to determine what is good and get at the truth."

d. *Divides men, produces intolerance, represses individuality.*

"True purpose is not carried out. Divides men and does not better condition."

"Strict adherence to minute laws is narrowing, clannish and repressive of individuality."

"Does not aid in developing tolerance, but makes for petty differences."

"No need for creed for it makes for racial distinctiveness and separateness and difference, denial of necessity of isolating people in religious groups. As an idealist, believe in world faith and no religious prejudice."

"No need for Judaism, race should merge with others, should be universal."

"All religions have same end, namely, the Golden Rule and conflict between sects is not consistent with that aim."

"Organized religion makes for pettiness and hypocricy and prevents progress."

e. *Does not develop morality.*

"Break of minor customs leads to break with principle."

"Does not aid in developing morality. The two are separate."

III. *Conclusions*

The opinions of the students so numerous, so forcefully and frankly given, tell the story, much more clearly than the statistics, of the unquestioned dissatisfaction with the forms and customs of their faith and of their outspoken disbelief in their adequacy. We are coming now to a full realization of the extent of the students' confusion regarding the teachings of Judaism and the dissent against its customs and ceremonies. The conclusions arrived at in the chapters on the "God Idea" are that between one-half and two-thirds of the respondents had turned away from the personal concept of God. In the chapter on the Conflict of religion and science, it was found that the minds of over two-thirds of these students were troubled and disturbed and confused by intellectual conflicts regarding their faith. Three-fifths and more of the respondents are dissatisfied with the customs and ceremonies; in one section, one-half of these reject them because

they are inadequate, they do not fit in; in the other, the second half thrust them aside because they would change the conception of Judaism from a religion of customs to that of morals. These three sections point to the conclusion that four-fifths and more of the respondents are either confused about the significance or value of Judaism or they are dissatisfied with its practices or they are both confused and dissatisfied. I say four-fifths and more because even among the one-fifth of the "Religion deepened or unchanged" group, some urge the need of change in the customs and ceremonies. In the students' attitude towards the "God Idea", the marked trend away from the traditional or personal concept of God, is not a denial of the existence of God but the voicing of a desire for the development of a larger concept of God. Here, in the spirit of dissatisfaction with its religious forms and ceremonies, this trend away from the traditional practices is not a rejection or denial of Judaism but the expression of a longing for its reinterpretation and reconstruction.

It will be impossible to treat in detail all the manifold reasons given in proof of the inadequacy of the religious customs for present day living. There are three that may give some idea of the fundamental weaknesses of the religious observances and afford an understanding as to why the students question their efficacy (1) they were made by man, (2) they do not fit into our lives now, (3) while one or more of these customs have lost their meaning, they are still necessary.

(1) These customs are made by man. The students do not get the positive ideas the statement "made by man" implies; that these customs are the result of development, the folkways that unify a people. They were not taught this either in the religious school or at home. That the customs and ceremonies have been made by man, which to some is a discovery, has had a disastrous effect on the religious sensibilities of some students. To them it means a denial of all they were taught, of all that was implied in these practices, that they were revealed on High, given by God and therefore of divine origin. The basis, upon which the observance of these customs has been built up, has been undermined and destroyed. With the trend away from both the personal concept of God and the belief in the divine origin of

the customs, due to the destructive influence of a scientific and industrial civilization, the ceremonies are losing their hold upon the students. The results again are negative, a break with the traditional observances. The student is antagonistic to the supernatural origin and explanation of customs. His secular training has destroyed that position. His emotional nature is not awakened by these ceremonies nor is there an appeal nor a response. He does not feel the presence of God nor is he humbled by his dependence upon Him. He does not see in these ceremonies an expression of God's will nor does he feel it to be the privilege it was to the fathers to perform them. His experience destroys the belief, accepted in childhood, that punishment or bad luck will overtake him, should a custom be violated. These observances may be carried on through habit, superstition or respect for parents but if a custom is disregarded through accident or an observance broken through necesssity, the spell is broken and the whole structure, so carefully built up, comes tumbling to the ground.

The worst aspect of the situation, however, is that the religious influence of the home, where the students were imbued with the desire to continue these observances, is breaking down. The students' opinions as well as the figures give us the unmistakable evidence of the strong religious influence of the home. The orthodox and conservative homes observe most of the religious customs. The students from this back ground, who are most familiar with these ceremonies, who have lived in an intense religious atmosphere, experience most keenly the contrast between the point of view that regulates the religious customs at home and that other viewpoint that controls the secular actions on the outside. They have the largest percentages of the group that speaks out most strongly against their inadequacy. It seems that the more traditional the background, the greater is the protest. The skeptical spirit, that so characterizes the attitude of the students, is strongly influencing that of their elders. Students state that either one or both parents are of necessity or voluntarily giving up some or most of the customs and ceremonies. The beautiful and uplifting religious atmosphere of the homes of our parents and grandparents that we knew and

loved so well, which grew out of their strong faith and their undeviating habits of religious practice, is gone forever. The efforts to recreate it are doomed to failure because the same faith in God, the same conviction regarding religious customs, the same religious outlook, no longer exist.

(2) "These observances do not fit in our lives now." This idea is frequently and in various ways repeated by the students. "They were for the times for which they were written." "They do not meet the needs of the present day." The term "These observances do not fit in", expresses the positive aspect of "man made", it emphasizes the idea of growth and development. Customs grow out of the environment of the age to which they belong and in which they are effective. Under different conditions they can no longer be of influence. The students' opinions imply, though they do not explicitly express the thought, that the present problem is that of two different civilizations and that the observances of the one do not fit into the life and thought of the other. The result again is negative. "These customs are for the times in which they were written," the student maintains, and therefore he is justified in ignoring or thrusting them aside. But the suggestion does not occur to him either from his religious training or his experience, that his is the duty and privilege of carrying on the process of growth, of attempting to reinterpret or reconstruct these observances that they will meet the needs of the present age.

This dissatisfaction is more than an intellectual conflict. There is not much said in the students' replies about dogmas and beliefs. They are mentioned only a few times. That is due to the fact that dogma or belief plays only a secondary part in Judaism. Adherence and loyalty to the faith do not depend on nor are they determined so much by dogma as by practice, by beliefs as by observances. There are dogmas of course, namely the belief in the one God, the Torah or the revelation of the five books of Moses and the service that Israel has been called upon to do for God and all mankind. These are taken more or less for granted. The Jew has enjoyed intellectual freedom throughout all the centuries. He has been in the advance guard of all liberal movements. The regulating of all the details of life

developed moral strength, and the emphasis on a common past and a common task maintained the unity of a dispersed people. The intellectual life of the Jew was influenced by the cultures with which he came into contact, the mystical, the philosophic and the pseudo-scientific of the Middle Ages. The intellectual outlook changed but the observances remained unaffected and the practices unaltered. It is barely possible but not probable that the customs would have continued unchanged even in the face of a complete change in viewpoint.

But today, not only has the point of view changed but there has been a fundamental alteration in man's experience. With the industrial revolution have come the factories and the city life; work is different, pleasures and pastimes are different. There are so many agencies that can provide for man's needs and desires, so many interests and diversions that fully occupy his attention that he has no time, no thought, no desire for religious observance. His life and activities have been secularized. Here now are two civilizations as well as two points of view that are clashing. The observances and customs, that have and still continue to dominate our religious thought and outlook have grown out of, and are expressive of, an agricultural civilization. But supplanting that has come an industrial civilization with its activities secularized, with the emotional attitudes and drives, that formed the basis of the old, given over to the interests of the new. Religion continues but the life and civilization out of which it grew are gone. A new life and civilization have taken their place, secularized and in some respects even paganized but no new interpretation of religion to guide and to explain the new forces has evolved. It is not because the student is too busy or too occupied to find time for his religion, as he claims, nor because he is indifferent and unconcerned, but because his habits and experience are such that they have alienated him from his religion. His studies and his activities have crowded his religion out of his thought and life. He no longer feels the emotional attitudes, the awe, the humility, the dependence, which observances and practices awaken. His pleasures, his diversions, his social functions completely occupy his leisure time when some consideration might be given to religious observance. He does not

turn to his religion for aid to solve the many social and intellectual problems. It has no answer and can offer no help. A break with these customs seems inevitable and with it the loss of the best of the spirit and wisdom of the traditions.

One or two illustrations may provide a clearer understanding of the change in outlook. The Succoth or the Feast of Tabernacles, the harvest or thanksgiving festival, a beautiful holiday, grew naturally out of an agricultural background. At the gathering in of the grain and the fruits, the farmer took the best of his produce or its equivalent as a sacrifice and in something of a primitive "mardi gras" joyfully carried it down in his pilgrimage to the Temple in Jerusalem. In this deed was involved the belief that his produce was due in a large measure to the aid he had received from God. The sacrifice was an expression, in a concrete material way, of his gratitude for what he had received. It also expressed the hope that with God's continued favor, of which he attempted to make himself deserving, he might reap an equally plenteous harvest in the coming year. This observance afforded the opportunity of acknowledging his dependence upon God and of discharging the responsibility of paying the debt of gratitude he owed to Him. Out of this background grew the practices of the ritual, came the deepest spiritual element of the religion. The agricultural period may have receded into the background but in the historical significance, substituted as a meaning for this festival, the faith and symbol of dependence on God still continued to exert their influence. But that has now changed. Our dependence is not now so much on nature as on the machine. It is the new industrial system that brings the produce from the four corners of the world to our doors. It is the machine that manufactures and distributes and provides us with all the goods for our needs and our comfort. Even in this present great depression it is not an abundance of wheat and clothing that is lacking but the economic system that has broken down. Organized religion has little concern with this breakdown except in helping to provide relief for those suffering as a result of unemployment and in attempting to curtail its own activities and expenses. To use the wealth produced by the machine for the erection and maintenance of the numerous

beautiful religious and charitable institutions, that is permitted by religion. To work out and take action, however, on the problems, the machine has created, to recognize its shortcomings and suggest remedies and use the possibilities it offers to make it a better instrument for man's happiness, that is secular, outside of the province of religion. Religious institutions and religious leaders eagerly seek and fully enjoy the products and profits of the machine but they denounce unmercifully the process by which they were produced. From the machine today come our joys and sorrows, the sustenance for our homes and families, the maintenance of all our institutions and yet religion does not hesitate to condemn this as a materialistic and technological age that produces evil and suffering.

The aloofness of religion from the industrial system has always been taken, not as a protest against it, as it believes, but rather as an acquiescence. It is not the machine that has brought on the evil but the rapidity with which they were invented. This has caused the vast amount of maladjustment and all the consequent miseries. It is not the machine but the way in which man has used it for his personal profit and not for the social good of all, that has caused so much suffering and unemployment. All the tremendously difficult problems with which we are confronted will yield to creative thinking, to creative experiments. The task of religion is not to condemn but to understand, not to stand aloof from, but to aid in, the planning, the social engineering, so essential today. Its further task is to help to change the means and ends pursued in the industrial world from the increase of profits to the development of personality, from competition to coöperation and above all to attempt to change religion's viewpoint from faith and passive resignation to understanding and active participation. The agricultural psychology is supplanted by the industrial, the rural sociology is dominated by the urban. Not against natural but against social forces must we contend. The symbol of the Jewish festivals is utterly inadequate for these changed conditions. A new symbol must develop, expressive of the new point of view, indicative of the newer and larger responsibilities to be assumed. Unless religion by word and deed can contribute to

solving the problems of the material and technological age, unless it can develop a religious interpretation of the secular forces, it can have no helpful, no dynamic message either for youth or the adult.

Another illustration is the necessary change in attitude towards charity. Charity is the one activity in which religion is connected with the life of today but it is tied up with life at its circumference rather than at its center. Charity is not the name given it by Judaism but rather justice. Charity has been the most beautiful flower that has blossomed from the soil of religion. Poverty was regarded as a necessity, as a badge of honor; the poor, the humble, the poverty stricken were synonymous with the pious and the righteous. God heard the prayer of the poor man, stood at the side of the needy and thus provided the opportunity, the privilege, the duty for man to share, to give generously of the blessings bestowed on him to the less fortunate. The change in the point of view regarding charity has brought about the strong contrast in the attitude of Judaism. Religion is interested in poverty as a result but not in what caused it. To religion, poverty is a necessity, the will of God and not the evil result of a poorly adjusted economic system. To provide for those, who are the victims and wrecks of a system over which they have no control, is religious but to be interested in the economic system that produced these victims and wrecks, is secular, no concern of religion.

No longer can Judaism boast that for it charity and social justice are synonymous. It has taken the element of social justice out of all charitable efforts. The synagogue will encourage the giving of funds to build and maintain charitable institutions but it will not go back to the causes, to the very root of their existence, to the modifying and changing of the economic system that will at least lessen the number and extent of the needy and suffering for whom these institutions are built and maintained. The work of the synagogue is in the nature of relief, ameliorative, expressive of the feeling of sympathy. It is not, however, preventive, it does not help to establish social justice. The synagogue regrets that it has released its hold upon all charitable efforts, that it does not

still direct its activities. To do this work successfully the synagogue would have to change its point of view and do the work it now regards as secular. To refuse to do that would result in a bungling of its efforts. The encouraging of the community to contribute generously, to inspire men and women to give of themselves and their time, to constitute the boards of directors, to distribute the funds collected, that, the synagogue can do. The actual work, however, is invariably performed by men and women scientifically trained and thus qualified to secure the best results. To put more heart into the work, which the synagogue feels it could do, simply means to put more head into it, to develop a better understanding of (1) the personality and needs of the individual or family under treatment, (2) of the end to be attained and (3) of the best means to reach that goal, and this the synagogue is not trained to do. The best of its activities do not altogether meet the needs of an industrial civilization. If the synagogue would change its point of view, would train some of its leaders to do preventive work, it would soon come to the recognition of the need of social legislation. It would create a program of education, develop a social conscience, crystalize sentiment and develop an informed public opinion that would hasten the passing of the required social legislation. This would remove part of the strain from the charitable institutions and would be carrying out the demand and the spirit of the prophets for social justice which service the synagogue believes it is performing but which as a matter of fact, it is not.

(3) "Some of the customs have lost their meaning but their observance is still necessary." Whatever objections the student may raise to religious observances, and they have mentioned many of them, these customs cannot be dispensed with altogether. They are necessary to preserve the existence of the people and maintain the integrity of the faith. The time has not arrived as yet for Israel to lose his identity. The danger must always be guarded against, now more than ever, of the Jew, a small minority, being swallowed up by the much larger majority, in whose midst he lives. The millennium is not around the corner. The religious world is far removed from a condition of tolerance, of understanding, of fair play or of a square deal. The very absence of

these qualities makes more determined the will of the Jew to live. These sentiments appeal to the students but they do not increase the extent of their observance nor deepen their regard for the customs. The students feel no impending danger of their being assimilated. The trends, as has been indicated, are away from the concepts and the practices but not away from Judaism. They may not desire to proclaim their Judaism from the housetops nor carry a chip on their shoulders but they do not attempt nor wish to deny their faith. If there is need for observing the customs, that need, they hold, is not for them but for others, for the unthinking, the unenlightened majority, for those who have no time to work out a moral code. Many are the reasons the students give for this non-observance of the customs, they are man-made, that is, they are not divinely revealed, or they do not fit in, that is, they belong to a past age and are not relevant to a city civilization, or there is still need for them but the need is for others and not for them. These are the justifications for their attitude of opposition, antagonism, or disregard and indifference.

When customs are not observed, when laws either of a religion or a state are not obeyed, when times are out of joint, when maladjustment is everywhere evident, men begin to ponder and to ask, "What's wrong?" The indifference manifested on every side towards organized religion by the adult as well as by youth has awakened the same questioning attitude. The religious leaders are inquiring more than ever what has happened to their congregations, why their congregants have lost interest. The community is asking what has befallen their religious institutions, why they are not more vital, more helpful. Both sides are wondering why youth is so unconcerned. That there is a hunger, a yearning for religion is very evident, clearly recognized, frequently mentioned. The religious institutions, as at present constituted, the religious concepts and practices, as at present interpreted, do not seem to be able to satisfy the hunger or the yearning. On every side we are confronted with a welter of confusion and chaos. Nowhere is the desire expressed to make at least a diagnosis of the situation, to put one's finger on the ailment, to face the real issue and to suggest, if at all possible, the next step.

The term Jewish, at present, is far too limited. The content of Jewishness, of Jewish consciousness must be broadened and deepened to include the social, economic and political activities of our people. Judaism must again be made a civilization with all its problems and needs. It must be made synonymous again with life with all its interests and activities. Now Jewish is applied to three c's, its culture, its cult and its charity. Its culture, with its miraculous history and remarkable literature, is but a record of the events of the past, a reflection of the thoughts and emotions of a bygone day. The cult or ritual grew out of a civilization that is no more and does not awaken a responsive chord in the heart of the Jewish youth. The work of charity deals with the weak and unfortunate of an economic system, touches on the fringes, the circumference, but does not concern itself with the center of life. Any program of religious activities whatsoever that is based on the three c's of Judaism, culture, cult, and charity, is a far too limited one. Whether these activities are sermons, lectures, classes or the work of special committees, they cannot and at present they do not, awaken any sustained interest or exert any continued spiritual or religious influence over the Jewish people. It seems that a too exclusive emphasis on the three c's, especially culture and cult, religious education and synagogue service, as at present constituted, with its attention turned completely to the past, is a flight from reality, a fleeing from the many problems and needs with which the Jew today is confronted.

Judaism as well as the other faiths, the Jew as well as the other peoples, must be preserved and kept intact. This has been advocated because of the different contributions each can make to the developing of democracy and culture in America. But neither Judaism nor any other organized religion is making any contribution towards solving the complex political, economical or social problems with which we are confronted. It is true that many of our people, who are constructive leaders in the scientific and industrial world and are shining lights in the political orbit, are actively connected with the synagogue. It is also true that some who are pillars of religious institutions are instruments of a politically corrupt machine or are employers who absolutely

refuse to listen at any time to reason or even to consider any compromise in their dealings with their employees or are violators of public law and private morality for personal gains. The synagogue has not the influence to inspire the former nor the power to prevent the latter. Religion is removed, set apart from these spheres of activity. Religion must keep out of business and out of politics, it is distinctly warned, and that warning usually invoked by those who strenuously maintain that religion is one thing and conduct another. It is this very separation of creed and deed and frequently the contrast of profession and action that give rise to the impression and belief of the insincerity and hypocrisy of religious activities and leaders to which students give such frequent and vehement expression and which alienate them from organized religion.

Religion for the student ought to be harmonized with his life, his problems and activities. There are two movements on the campus, approaching each other from different directions which ought to be made a part of the students' thoughts; first, 'Religion in Higher Education' and, second, 'Education Adequate for Modern Times', to broaden the first, to spiritualize the second. Religious training for our youth can help to provide him with an adequate knowledge of the social, economic and political machinery of the society in which he lives. It can evaluate what the high schools and universities are teaching and supplement that instruction. From this should come a desire to keep himself well informed of the principal issues in each field and a willingness to use his influence and direct his efforts for the establishment of what he deems best. Religious training can supplement with profit the vocational guidance work carried on in the secular schools and to provide the Jewish boys with information regarding the various professions, legal, medical and others, as to the number of Jews already engaged in them, the conditions and the possibilities of succeeding in these fields, the encouragement to consider other kinds of work. Religious training ought to prepare him to meet and solve his many intellectual, social and religious problems. What shall be the objectives of his university training? How can he best adjust himself to his new environment? What shall be the relation to his professors,

his classmates, his friends, the opposite sex, the non-Jew? How shall he spend his leisure time and what shall be the nature and character of his pleasures and recreations? Where shall he turn for help in solving his own personal problems? What part shall religion play in all of these? How can all of his studies, his activities, his pleasures manifest a fine religious and spiritual character? It was for ends of this kind that the training in the religious school should have prepared its pupils. Such a training would have carried over into the university and have proved suggestive and helpful. These activities and problems are products of a city and industrial civilization. They cannot be changed. They can, however, be sympathetically studied, thoroughly understood and the students helpfully and constructively guided. This must be the objective of religious work among students. Unless the religious leaders of our people recognize the new situation with all its perplexing problems and make some attempt to meet them, I cannot see how they can succeed in any way in influencing the thoughts or in guiding the life of our youth.

Another need is the development of a creative attitude. The students have changed their concept of God; they are working out their own moral code. But often this development is not in sympathy with but rather away from Judaism; it is something that does not supplement but rather supplants the faith. This creative process can be guided and directed. Where it does not exist, it ought to be awakened and developed. I have found that constructive criticism and creative efforts awaken an eager interest in students. Let us bring to the front the aspect of growth in Judaism. Though in certain quarters Judaism has been viewed as changeless and unchanging, all of its aspects, none the less, have been subjected to the processes of change. Judaism is not a finished product; it is still in the making. It is the duty of all Jewry, especially of the student, to contribute towards this growth. Jewish youth can preserve the best of the rich heritage bequeathed to him only by helping in its further development. If the student will question and criticize let it be constructive criticism; if he is dissatisfied with the forms of religion, let him endeavor to improve it by attempting to make a con-

structive contribution. The process itself will develop spiritual thought and feeling, whatsoever else is accomplished.

Will this creative attitude tend to destroy our religion? It will rather result in broadening and deepening it. Our objectives are to preserve the best of the past age and to spiritualize the activities of the present age; or in other words to determine just what function Judaism played in an agricultural civilization and to apply and carry on that same function, however changed its method, in an industrial civilization. This work is new, it has not been attempted before. The Ark of the Covenant has not passed this way before. The process must be carried on by research, diagnosis, experiment. It is possible to point the direction, it is impossible to outline a definite and completed program. For these experiments there will always be required (1) a knowledge of Judaism and how it functioned in the lives of the fathers, (2) an understanding of social and economic conditions today, their problems and how they can be solved and (3) a desire to preserve as much of the customs and ceremonies as possible, because of their survival value, until, through combined creative efforts, there shall be crystallized that newer reinterpretation, that more complete and satisfying reconstruction, those truer symbols that will enable Judaism to fit into life, that will spiritualize the wealth and the pleasures of a machine age. To such lines of religious endeavors the interest and the loyalty of the Jewish student body can be awakened and held, for Judaism then will become an integral and vital part of his thought and life.

XI

Change of the Conception of Judaism from a Religion of Customs and Ceremonies to a Religion of Morals

The students have changed their conception of Judaism from a religion with customs and ceremonies to that of culture, race, Zionism or nationalism, morality and personal religion. One-half of the respondents of this group, who had more than five years instruction in the Talmud Torah or through private instruction, emphasize morality and the other half favor culture and Zionism, and those classified as the Unknown Attitude toward God group strongly favor the idea of race. The students who emphasize the change to morality and personal religion constitute two-thirds of this group. To them consideration is given in this chapter.

I. *Statistics*

The statistics are found in Section 4 of Tables XVI, XXVI and XXXVIII. These tables, which still treat of a changed attitude towards customs, point to the same conclusions as those indicated in the preceding chapter. In Section 4, Table XVI, Synagogue Affiliation, the same marked difference is found between the synagogue affiliated and the unaffiliated. Among the synagogue affiliated, the conservative group in this section has the slightly larger percentage.

In Section 4, Table XXVI, Religious Education, the difference between the religiously trained and untrained is insignificant and practically disappears. In Section 4, Table XXXVIII, the God Idea, the Personal concept of God and the Unknown Attitude towards God columns have the smallest percentage, the Subjective and Deistic as well as the Atheistic and Agnostic groups have the same high percentage which is twice as large as that of the Personal concept of God group. The Skeptical column is about midway between the two extremes. The same explanations given in the preceding chapter apply to the above tables.

TABLE XXVI

Nature of Change

Percentages of 1171 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Nature of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Nature of change of attitude towards Judaism	A: Types of religious instruction					B: Duration of religious instruction		
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
4.....	Change of conception from religion to civilization, race, nationality, morality or personal religion	26	22	24	25	24	26	23	23	24

II. *What the Students Say*

The students' opinions may be divided into five general classes, (1) the observance of customs is useless unless it influences or is followed by moral action, (2) religion and ethics can ber separated, (3) though customs and morals often go together moeals are the more important, (4) customs may no longer be necssary or may have lost their meaning but a moral code is, always needed, (5) the moral code can be either developed from religious principles or worked out through creative thought.

(1) *The observance of customs is useless unless it influences or is followed by moral action.*

"I have from an early age been interested in the conflict between science and religion. At Hebrew school I was sternly rebuked because I once very innocently asked, 'How do you know there is a God'. All my associates and friends are indifferent to religion, doing only those things which please their parents. In many cases there is only an outward appearance of conformity with the Jewish customs and traditions, but an entire relaxation when away from the immediate home. I have found that most religious institutions are organized for no other purpose than to provide the officers with an income. The frequenters are people who have no scruples at all. I know of specific instances where these pious men will not contribute a cent for charity, will eject a poor widow, enforce payment of a note, etc. listening to no excuses."

"My first conception of the Jewish religion was that of a rigid system of customs, ceremonies, and laws, and a stern God. This belief was fostered by Sunday school and religious school attendance. However, due primarily, I believe, to increase in knowledge and a gradually increasing skepticism as to strict adherence to customs and ceremonies constituting by itself good Judaism, I have come to believe that constant worship, observance of customs (for instance Kosher food laws, which I think to have been formulated out of a necessity, which no longer exists) mean little without the more essential philosophy of justice and tolerance to all people and a general feeling of common endeavor. Judaism, I believe, is putting into practice ideals expressed in traditional laws and customs, not mere worship of them."

(2) *Religion and Ethics can be Separated.*

"As a small child I was very deeply religious, in so far as a child could be said to be so. As I grew older, I heard more from different types of people, learned more of the conflicts of religion and history or science, and discovered that ethics and social goodness could exist without religion, I changed my

viewpoint. At present I am indifferent, because I cannot feel that the ideals of honesty or kindness or goodness or sportsmanship, which mean most to me, are in any way dependent on what I think about religion. I do feel that ethics and religion are separate and separable."

(3) *Though customs and morals often go together, morals are the more important.*

"Whereas in earlier years, when yet an unsuspecting youngster, I believed in the tremendous superiority of the Jew, in immortality, in the perfection of our customs, and dogmas. I have now modified my views considerably, because of a greater and more critical examination of history, association with Gentiles, and a little reflection. Though I would like to see the Jews a real nation, I have little respect for much of the dogma and irksome customs which have accumulated during the centuries. I feel that our religion, instead of being easy to grasp, understandable, and ceremonially simple to perform, has become something impossible to observe in full unless one devotes the complete day to it. It has become pervaded with superstition and humbug. The result has been that people, getting into the habit of breaking 'unimportant' customs, soon learn to violate the big principles. I am therefore in sympathy with a reconstruction movement in Judaism to make it a vital force in the Jew's life. For after all, customs and ceremonies are the means and not the purpose of religion. The big vital principles of humanity and justice are the end of religion. I am proud to be a Jew because we have a culture as good as, if not better than, any other nation; yet, I would not, as in my earlier years, placard the fact. In short, I would like to see in a modest, Jewish and tolerant State (preferably under an English mandate or in Canada's position) a Judaism laying more emphasis on humanity and justice than on dogma and regulation."

"I have a deep and profound Jewish sympathy, a form of patriotism rather than religion. At home, we have a passive acceptance of faith, adherence to ritual during holidays for the sake of tradition only, Kosher meats, but otherwise complete indifference. Never having been animated by over-religious fervor, there has been no occasion for a change. Under the intelligent tutelage of my father, I have never been commanded to blindly accept religion, but rather to adjust my morals and conscience to the dictates of inner decency, such decency being based on the Golden Rule—Most emphatically, we did not and do not believe in any religious forms as such. I am thoroughly overwhelmed by the confusion that arises from religious discussion. I fear that eventually I will grow to accept the standardized form of the reform Jew—merely to have freedom from the bewilderment that is ever-present in an uncertain mind, a cowardly acquiescence, but, I fear, the only way out. I believe

in Jewish organization, a Jewish consciousness, cooperating Jewry, a counter force to such anti-Semitism that will prevail so long as the Jew is endowed with his present intelligence, ambition and aggressiveness."

"My thoughts toward Judaism have not changed considerably. I do not believe in going to temple and praying is unnecessary. It is the life you live seven days a week that counts. Good clean living, charity and love is my religion."

(4) *Customs may be no longer necessary or may have lost their meaning, but society always requires moral action.*

"With the coming of a realization, the knowledge that childhood fancies are but enjoyable dreams, of life as it is, of the many injustices of the social and economic orders, of the lowness and base tendencies within us all, I began to value Judaism more for what it is, its higher and historic significance, a moral code, not the cold empty forms of my childhood."

"I am happy and proud that I am a Jew and content in the thought that I am a good Jew at heart. I don't believe that arduous worship makes a good Jew. Religion is necessary, no matter what kind it may be, one is as good as the other, some people need it, others don't. I have met sincere Jews and some not sincere. For the latter, I have nothing but contempt, the first have my utmost respect. There are many fallacies in the Bible conflicting with science, but this is excusable because of many reasons. One thing I can see no reason for, namely, the purpose of our holidays. Why should festivities, such as Passover, which is supposed to recall the departure of our ancestors from Egypt, be used to recall the hardships they had undergone. Does it do us any good? Take Yom Kippur; will fasting remove our sins? (I know that fasting is healthy, etc.) Then, one whole year of sin may be eradicated by one day of intense worship. This argument is not logical but it is the result of many talks with other people. Religion should aim at one thing, mainly, the moral aspect and then a belief in God."

"My religious faith has never been very strong. About the time of my confirmation I believe it was strongest, which can probably be accredited to the influence of my Rabbi. There has always been a conflict between my scientific and emotional attitude towards religion. At present, after a year of study of the Old Testament and another year on the New Testament, my religion is stronger than it has been since confirmation, but less Jewish. I believe that most people need a belief in God as a sort of incentive to moral strength. My aim is to have moral strength whether or not I believe in God, and as long as I can be true to my ethical ideals, I can let religion take care of itself. I do not believe that if there is a God, He requires worship. What He

does require is an ethically beautiful life. Such a life I shall endeavor to lead in any event, so after all, one might say that I should class myself as an 'indifferent'."

(5) *A moral code developed either from religious principles or worked out by creative thought.*

"My earliest feelings towards Judaism were those of awe and unquestioning belief. After a while the Bible became more allegorical in its significance and consequently the Jewish religion took on a different aspect. Being of a reform congregation, I have seen Judaism to be more broad-minded than many other religions, and this attracted me. I realize I am a Jew and nothing can change my natural inheritance in that direction, or my feelings toward certain phases of life. Judaism and Jewish ideas and ideals, have been inculcated in me from earliest childhood, they are almost inbred in me and cannot be easily lost. However, instead of the blind belief of my earlier days, I have come to look upon religion as something we create for ourselves, more along the lines of ethical thinking. While conforming with the Jewish religion in most details, my religion may be said to become more general as I get older and lose more illusions."

"My feelings toward Judaism and other religions as such have undergone a long history of change. Of course during my earlier days my religious beliefs were merely a copy of those of my father, who was a nationalist, rather than a religionist, and of those of various elder people with whom I may have had contact. Then when my intellect developed to a degree, my thoughts wandered from one step to another, my religious beliefs underwent fluctuations, at one time I was indifferent, cynical, at another time I was doubtful or confused. Now I have an abiding faith in an ethical Judaism, a humanistic Judaism. My religion is to be that of prophetic Israel, with its message of peace and social brotherhood. It is not moulded firmly as yet, the details must be ironed out, if they ever will be, I doubt. Science at one time was the cause of my doubt or indifference, but now I see that science may be made a part of religion, a new religion. Of course, I must confess, the environment in which I at one time found myself, influenced my opinions. It was the environment of collegiate indifference and cynicism, but now I believe and hope, that I am on the path to a definitely defined religious point of view."

"Thoughts of Judaism changed with thoughts of God; (1) up to 15 years I hardly thought of it at all, despite the high sounding and wonderful (?) speeches of adults; (2), from 15 to 18 years, I realized what Judaism was, that is, in my limited way, but still felt no glory in it, for it, or by it. Why should I take pride in something which I had never done? All praise and sin-

cere honor to the old patriarchs, but why bask in their sunshine? (3), and now, while I am a Jew, speak Yiddish and have complete Jewish surroundings, yet my mouth never utters Judaism. I, rather, take a cosmic point of view—all men are alike, we are what we ourselves are, irrespective of race, creed or color. Why waste time harping on Judaism? Why not work hard, better the whole world? As Tolstoi said, 'We are all men going home'."

"I find that no matter how much time and energy an individual devotes to religious worship, if he has no conscience then his religious devotions are not worth a continental. Whenever I go home I practice my religion enough so as not to cause any pain to my parents, but otherwise I never practice it. I am no atheist either, as perhaps you might think; moreover I don't claim that religion is a false thing. I simply don't care for religion, I live my own life in my own way and govern my actions by what my conscience tells me is right. You have asked me for my belief and I have told it to you with the greatest sincerity. I don't care to convince anyone of that fact. I have found that it fits in with my experiences and that it satisfies me."

"As a child I believed implicitly in the Jewish faith as presented to me by parents and teachers; I believe as I believed my fairy tales, earnestly and sincerely. But as I grew older I learned that the Jewish people are not God's chosen people. I saw that the Jewish religion no longer serves the purposes it once did. It is far behind the times, antiquated. It does not suffice to uplift the uncouth and scheming and selfish. To my mind religion should be the bond between God and Man, the influence that should lift man from his selfish pettiness to divine goodness, the great humanizer, that should direct man's moral relations with man. Until I can formulate a religion which will meet these requirements (if I have not found it necessary to remound, augment, or modify these requirements in the meantime) I must be content to do the right as my mind dictates, the right in accordance with the laws of reason, as they reconcile my duties to family and country with my own duties to myself. I must be content with my being good, sincere and useful. If moral earnestness and intellectual sincerity are of any avail in my quest, I can confidently proceed and approach, though I may never reach, the goal."

III. *Conclusions*

It is impossible at this time and in this section to discuss all aspects such as culture, race, nationalism or Zionism. To many students these are more important concepts of Judaism than the customs and ceremonies. Consideration is concentrated, however, on the change of emphasis from custom to morality because the majority of the respondents in this group stressed this change.

Morals are an important element in all the aspects above mentioned. This study would be incomplete without a discussion of the students' attitude toward this subject.

It must always be remembered that the student judges the value of his religion from the experiences he has had and the knowledge he has gained. It is not only a general principle that Judaism or any other religion, to be of influence, must be synonymous with life, but it is the feeling and judgment of the student. All of the evidence points unmistakably to that conclusion. Doubt and confusion arose because the information about the Bible and Judaism, acquired in the religious school and at home, conflicted with the knowledge he obtained in his secular training. His disbelief and rejection of customs and ceremonies arose from the judgment that they did not fit into his present activities and habits. Morals, he found, are an important aspect of life and he turns his attention to them. None of the respondents ever refer at all in any of their replies, to any helpful training in ethics given in the religious schools. In fact they cannot recall having received any such training. In the many personal conferences held with students the question was asked, "How much ethical training did you receive in your religious schools?" All the students answered that this training came from the home environment, the example and inspiration of their parents, their contacts with their companions, but none could or would definitely say that it came from the religious school. The student contrasts morals with customs, as to which is the more important and as to whether customs develop into morality. These contrasts receive not a little consideration. He refers to the insincerity of religious leaders and the different religious activities that have helped to turn him away from his faith. About fifteen per cent of the respondents give this as a cause for their change in attitude and feeling towards their religion. They refer to some unfortunate experience with the religious leader in their home town or with students studying for religious leadership or with some of the pillars of the synagogue, who as they say, "Would not contribute one cent to charity, nor hesitate to enforce the payment of a note, nor to foreclose a mortgage of a widow and to eject her on the street and would refuse to

listen to any reasons or excuses." These experiences may have been the exception rather than the general rule but, whenever they occurred, they awakened antagonism. To some adults, customs are mere conventions, formalities, a something they performed out of habit without further reference to their activities in life. But as for the student, if these practices do not fit into life, do not square with conduct, he believes they make hypocrites of the observers and a hypocrisy of religious belief.

The downright and often brutal and outspoken frankness of youth does not brook insincerity or hypocrisy. As children, they were influenced by the example of their parents and elders who were very observant. But as they grew older and thought about their faith, its beliefs and practices, the same inevitable break occurred. These students emphasized the importance of the ethical aspect of life and found that, as far as this end was concerned, religion as customs and ceremonies was utterly inadequate. Customs are but means to an end but if the ends are the vital principles of justice, honesty or humanity, the means do not necessarily develop into, nor bring about, these ends. If customs are placed on the level with morals, as is often the case, the lurking danger is that the violating of an unimportant custom may end in the violating of an important moral principle.

But what most students feel is that religious instruction does not stress nor teach ethical ideas and ideals adequate for present-day living. They have been forced to create and work out their own moral code. "Religion", says one student, "is what we create for ourselves mostly along the line of ethical thinking," or "My aim," says another, "is to develop moral strength and be true to my ethical ideals which are not dependent on religion and let religion take care of itself." Another emphasizes the cosmic view. "Why harp on Judaism? Why not work hard to better the whole world?" "What God desires," says another, "is not worship, but an ethically beautiful life and it is my endeavor to lead such a life." The desire of another is to emphasize and to work out an ethical, a humanistic Judaism, a prophetic Judaism with its message of peace and social brotherhood and to call upon science to play its part in developing such a Judaism. The students' attitude is positive in the field of morals, while in the two pre-

ceding sections, it is negative. In the one, there is conflict between science and religion with its resulting doubt and confusion. Religious knowledge and beliefs are forgotten and left by the wayside. In the second, there is a conflict between two civilizations; the religious customs and ceremonies arising out of the one do not fit into the other. They are scrapped. With morals however, the student attempts to be creative and constructive. Life calls for it, demands it. The student finds that religion as customs and ceremonies does not aid in this constructive effort, that he can get along without it and so thrusts it aside. The danger arises, as has been pointed out again and again, that in thrusting aside his religion, he suffers a loss of the wisdom and the best of the traditions it has taken so many generations to develop. In his creative effort on the other hand, he does not possess a clear understanding of the social conditions of today nor does he enjoy the guidance of a leader who could aid him to construct his ethical concepts.

The claim of the student that religion as taught to him has no influence upon his moral thought and life is borne out by the conclusions drawn from studies made on this subject. Hartshorne and May's "Studies in Deceit" has this to say, "Yet so far as the facts go we may say that neither the length of time that children are associated with Sunday school nor the regularity of their attendance seems to be at all associated with their tendency to deceive either at school or on work taken home." . . . "The results of this study of Hebrew schools are thus in general accord with what we have already reported for Protestant Sunday schools."[1]

In the Character-Educational tests made in several Hebrew schools, it was found that in one religious school dishonesty increased with length of attendance and in another it decreased with length of attendance. Regarding the latter, the author says, "There is no conclusive evidence, however, that the decrease in variation as well as the change in average deception that may go with attendance in Hebrew school are in causal relation, that the attendance in school and the curriculum are the causes

[1] *Studies in Deceit*, Hartshorne & May, pp. 360, 362.

of the change. It is quite possible that the two factors, Hebrew school attendance and honesty, have numerous points in common such as home background, its social level, cultural status of the parents, their code of ethics, etc."[2]

Why has the synagogue been unable to understand and to meet these changed conditions? The Jews lived as a united community even after they ceased to be a nation. Their life in all its aspects was controlled and directed by law and authority. There was no distinction made by Israel nor by any other people either between customs and morals or between the religious and the secular. It was all religious. In the ghettos in which the Jew was forced to live or in the small communities, in which, either persecuted or tolerated, they were permitted to dwell, the force of public opinion and the authority of the law were a restraining influence upon conduct. With the coming of emancipation and the industrial revolution, the walls of the ghettos were torn down, the small towns grew into large cities. In the receiving of equal civil and political right, new problems arose from contacts with peoples of other faiths and from the influences of a new culture and a new civilization. These changes had their effect both on Judaism and the Jew. While a new civilization was in the making, the synagogue was by its very nature compelled to remain unchanged. The belief was always fundamental that Judaism was a revealed religion. The laws had developed and changed, it is true, to meet the conditions of the ages following the biblical period, but the changes were brought about by the constituted authority of a body of Rabbis, the learned Doctors of the Law, who constituted the Sanhedrin. The development made explicit what was implicit in the revealed word of God. This development of law and religion, constituting the Talmud and known as the Oral Law, was considered as sacred as the Written Law, the five books of Moses. In fact it was believed that God revealed both the Oral as well as the Written Law. Without a Sanhedrin, however, which could not be assembled, no further changes could be made. The synagogue remained practically unchanged while revolutionary changes

[2] "Character Education and the Jewish School", Dr. J. H. Maller, *Jewish Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 22.

were being made in life. The reform movement in Judaism, begun in the eighteenth century, broke away from this position. It introduced innovations, abrogated some of the customs and shortened the ritual, to meet, what the leaders of that day considered, the changed conditions of the time. The changes made then are not comprehensive enough now to make religion expressive of the conditions and life of our scientific and industrial age nor to break down the distinction between the religious and the secular. The reform synagogue does not succeed either in meeting or providing for the changed conditions of our present-day civilization.[3]

Religious education has not been developed to meet these changes. The same objectives of religious education that prevailed in the home and religious schools are more strongly emphasized today than in the past. Adjust the Jewish child to his religion, develop within him an appreciation for its history and its practices, help him to live harmoniously and coöperatively with his people. The curriculum has ever consisted of the Hebrew language, the history, the literature, the liturgy, the custom and ceremonies. The material has always been so vast that a selection has always had to be made. Better methods of instruction may be used, the objectives have not changed. There was formerly no need to teach religion to youth. They lived in a religious atmosphere, their very thoughts were of a religious nature. There was then no formal teaching of ethics, no need for it existed. It was caught from the spirit of the Bible, the law of the prophets, the inspiration of the history and literature of the people and especially from the environment of the home, its strongest influence. Today conditions have completely changed. In his contact with other faiths and other cultures, the deepest impulse of the Jew, always a minority people, has naturally been to save himself from assimilation and to preserve intact his scattered people and his ancient faith. To this end he emphasized the elements characteristic of, and peculiar to, his religion which are his culture, his customs and his ritual. The importance of the observance of the holidays, the practice of the customs and ceremonies,

[3] See Chapter XV, pp. 208-210.

the attendance at the synagogue, which seemed the only concrete ways of expressing one's love and loyalty to the faith, were ever more strongly emphasized. Two real dangers arose from this over-emphasis. First, the impression, unfortunately but inevitably, developed in the minds of many persons that customs and morals were identical and that to be religious, to live a Jewish life, seems merely to be observant. Second, this very over-emphasis means less contact with, less understanding of, the conditions of life as they are, and results in a separation from, a distinct break with, them. Paradoxically the more exclusively these observances are emphasized, the less of influence they exert.

The taking over of the greater part of the educational training of the child by the secular schools has led to the same results. The religious and moral education was left to the synagogue. But what the synagogue did was to emphasize what was distinctive and peculiar to its own faith, its history and literature, its customs and ritual. The method of teaching moral principles may have been effective under other conditions but it is now utterly inadequate. Religious training, that may have succeeded in small communities under settled conditions, in developing the moral and religious as well as the intellectual nature of its pupils, does not and cannot succeed in producing the same results under the changing conditions in large industrial centers. The moral training of our youth has not been provided for by either religious or secular education. Secular education, however, is attempting to remedy this shortcoming by introducing character education into its system—the development of the whole personality, moral and spiritual as well as intellectual. Religious education, blind to its own failings, continues its course unaltered, and keeps its objectives unchanged. Religious education receives so much less time and thought by youth than the secular and hence is so often considered as secondary, of little value. What is far worse is that this religious training is not tied up with, or adjusted to, the secular and is regarded as not related to, as something apart from, life and its activities. The result is inevitable. The student feels no need for his religion in the development of his ethical life and finds that he can get on without it.

If religion were to examine life as it is with its activities, needs and problems, as the social sciences are attempting to do, as a social interpretation of religion would do, as the students unconsciously are doing, it would find that new applications of moral principles that have never been worked out before, as well as new principles, new standards, new attitudes, must be developed. The complete change in the economic conditions of life calls for a reformulation of ethical principles. In early days nations were often on the verge of starvation. Harvests were seldom plentiful, scarcely if ever was there a surplus. Asceticism and self-denial, resignation and humility were inevitable. These qualities were considered the highest virtues. Today the harvests are very plentiful. The world is rich in the overflowing abundance of the products of the machine. It is an era of a surplus economy, of a wealth of material goods and of unbounded opportunities for pleasure. The ethics accepted from the secular life has not proved satisfactory. We need today, not an ethics for an age of want but for an era of abundance; an ethics to teach man to be the master and not the slave of his possessions, to direct him to use his wealth for the development of his own personality and that of his fellowmen; not an ethics of resignation and consolation but of active participation in the activities of life; not general principles but an exact and detailed knowledge of social activities which will enable him to control and direct them to deserved and well chosen ends.

External authority is gone. In the pre-industrial age, the religious and moral laws regulated man's thought and activity. The conditions were well fixed. The moral principles were clearly defined and definitely determined. The details of the moral life, as manifested by man's relation to his fellowmen, which never changed, were well known or could be easily ascertained. The Jew lived in small communities; each knew exactly what the other was doing. The force of gossip or of public opinion controlled the conduct of all the members of each community. Conditions have completely changed. With the passing of small town life ,and the growth of densely populated cities and the means of rapid transportation, the identity of the individual goes unnoticed and his actions escape detection.

His neighbors do not know where he goes or what he does. The restraining force of public opinion is lessened if not destroyed. Youth questions the divine origin of law and the traditions. That the Bible or the pulpit or even the parents command, carry no weight with him. He reserves the right to question and to determine the value, the worthwhileness of the command or law. With the passing of external authority an inner authority must take its place. Developing the will to do from within, not imposing a will from without; an understanding of each act, a conviction of its rightness, not fear of public opinion or of punishment are aspects of what is meant by an inner authority. This requires a newer method of training, a different kind of attitude.

The standards for moral conduct are changing. Gone are the moral and religious sanctions, sometimes called the supernatural sanctions, such as the love of God, a walking in His ways, the desire for the spiritual development of character or the storing up of treasures in the world to come, all of them strong motives that impelled man to moral action. That they should be undermined was inevitable with the changing of the personal God concept with its symbol and interpretation of life. With the passing of these sanctions, there seems unfortunately to be lost with them the control and the wisdom they developed. Many moral evils have followed in its wake in consequence. New moral sanctions, however, new moral standards, are emerging, such as the greater regard for, and emphasis on, personality. The freedom of woman, the welfare of the child, and the many other social changes regarding the treatment of the dependent, the delinquent and the defective have increased the number of different classes of human beings whose worth is entitled to complete recognition and whose personality is deserving of the fullest development. These standards emphasize not the fulfillment of a command but the consideration of the welfare of man, not a knowledge of general moral principles as much as the understanding of particular individual personalities, not the application of moral principles but the adjustment of the individual to his environment. These standards are used in the treatment of social problems as delinquency and dependency. Each case is carefully studied as to its background and the causes

of the problem, and every effort is put forth to make a better adjustment. The best methods of character training are based on the needs and interests of the individual, on the understanding and the drawing out of the best possibilities of his personality. The end and purpose of industry, it is hoped, will come to be the welfare of all persons connected therewith, the development of the personality of all its workers, the release of their best energy and effort. The moral value of all forms of relationship between person and person at home, in school, or in the shops, factories and offices will be determined by the respect for the other's individuality, a capacity to understand his capabilities and a willingness to help in his growth.

New methods of education known as Character Education are being developed to meet and to provide for these new social needs. "Education must become the continuous reconstruction of experience. Such a concept emphasizes the importance of regarding new situations and unsolved problems rather than kernels of wisdom as the grist for the students' intellectual mill. It also implies studying those problems in their many phases and aspects; it involves collecting all available facts and the analyzing them in an attempt to discover their meaning and finally it demands the testing and applying of this assembled knowledge."[4] Secular education is beginning to adopt the methods of character education. Religious education has done very little if anything with regard to it. An insistence, that some religious leaders make, that the final word has been said and that the ethical ideas and moral principles as bequeathed are sufficient for all present conditions and situations, prevents the gaining of a clearer understanding of the changing conditions, the requiring of as much knowledge and wisdom as possible on the subject and the making of definite effort to help in developing a modern interpretation and application of old principles or working out of new ones. Religious education deals with the moral life of the past. Character education has to do with present day problems, with particular life situations. Religious education provides a knowledge in things Jewish,

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[4] "The Students Speak Out", *A Symposium of 22 Colleges*, p. 3.

history, literature, customs, ritual. Character education emphasizes the control and enrichment of experience. Religious education teaches the laws and the traditions and still holds to external authority and supernatural sanction. Character education seeks a growth from within, an inner authority, and has for its objective, the development of personality. Character education concerns itself with the environment, the situations, the problems that arise from all the activities and interests of the student. To religious education these are secular, outside its realm, a field in which it is not interested and with which it does not concern itself. Research by Hartshorne and May and others has shown that the attendance at religious school has no effect upon the moral character of its pupils. Further study strongly indicates that religious education does not and cannot contribute to what is technically known as the character education of its pupils or to this character education in general.

DIVISION C

CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

XII

Bible Reading

Division C covers Questions 17, 18 and 19 of the Questionnaire, Bible Reading, Synagogue Attendance and Saying Prayers in the Home. We wished to learn from these questions (1) about the continued practice throughout the three educational periods, grammar school, high school and university; (2) about the change in the practice and at what educational period it was made; (3) whether there was no practice at all and (4) whether there was an increase in the practice either at the high school or the university.

Division C has two chapers, Chapter XII on Bible Reading and Chapter XIII on Prayers in the Home and Synagogue Attendance. The similarity between the practices of praying in the home and in public worship in the synagogue led to the including of these two subjects in the same chapter.

Five definite conclusions have been drawn from the material examined, (1) a trend away from the personal concept of God, (2) the close relationship between the personal concept of God and the observance of customs, (3) the confusion and doubt arising from the conflict of religion and science, (4) the students' belief that the customs and ceremonies grew out of a past civilization and do not fit into the present industrial age, (5) the moral principles of religion in an era that was relatively settled and unchanged, are not now adequate for a civilization, the conditions and situations of which are constantly changing. These conclusions lead to a better understanding of why youth has lost interest in the Bible.

I. *Statistics*

The seventeenth question of the questionnaire, providing for a check off in three educational periods, grammar school, high school and university, affords the opportunity of determining the development of Bible reading throughout these three stages. The tables point to four trends, (1) the continued practice, regular or occasional, of Bible reading or study throughout all three educational periods, (2) the breaking away from Bible reading at the high school and university, (3) the extent of no Bible reading at all, at any period, (4) the total increase in Bible study or reading at both the high school and university. Only one table is given in the text but a more detailed outline of this table and of the other tables referred to, will be found in the Appendix.

TABLE XII

BIBLE READING

PERCENTAGES OF 1351 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION, HAVING SPECIFIED PRACTICES OF BIBLE STUDY OR READING AT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

SECTION	EXISTENCE, CONTINUANCE OR CHANGE IN PRACTICE	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1....	Total continued Bible study or reading throughout grammar school, high school and university	09	19	20	20	18
2....	Total break in practice of Bible study or reading	33	57	48	40	47
3....	No Bible study or reading	19	04	06	09	07
4....	Total increase in practice of Bible study or reading	38	23	28	32	28

Table XII given above as well as Table XXII, Religious Education, and Table XXXV, the God Idea, found in the Appendix, which deal with the same subject, can be divided into two parts.

Part 1, including Sections 1 and 2, tells of the "Continued practice of Bible reading or study throughout all three educational periods" and of the "Break away from the practice." All of these students have received instruction in the subject. Part 2, including Sections 3 and 4, tells of the "No practice" at all of Bible reading or study and of the "Increase in the practice" at the high school and university. Most of these students received no instruction in the Bible either in the religious school or at home. The dividing line can be drawn between the synagogue unaffiliated and the affiliated (Table XII) and between the religiously untrained and the religiously trained (Table XXII). Neither the synagogue unaffiliated nor the religiously untrained have received much instruction in the Bible. Their percentages in the first two sections are small which means that they did not cultivate the habit of regular or occasional reading of the Bible and, not having had much practice, they could not very well break away from it. But their percentages in the last two sections are high. They admit they have not read or studied the Bible or they feel that there has been some increase in this practice at the university.

In Section 1, Regular or occasional Bible reading or study, the percentages are the same for the synagogue affiliated groups, orthodox, conservative and reform, and the same for the students with the three types of religious training, Sunday school, Talmud Torah and private instruction. Section 2, The break away from the practice of Bible reading or study, is the crux of these tables and to it special attention must be directed. Two-thirds of the students from orthodox homes attend Talmud Torahs and receive private instruction. Here an intensive training is given three to five afternoons a week to instruction in Hebrew, devoted largely to Bible study. The students from the orthodox homes, who were instructed in the above mentioned schools, have the largest percentage of the break away from the practice of Bible reading. One-half of the students from conservative homes attend the Talmud Torah and receive private instruction and have the second largest percentage. The students from reform homes who attended the Sunday schools have the smallest percentages of the three religious groups or the three types of religious instruction. The Sunday school gives much less time and devotes less attention to Bible reading.

About half of this breaking away from the practice of Bible reading or study begins in the high school. The percentage of the break away from the practice of Bible reading at this period is relatively much larger for the orthodox groups and those trained in the Talmud Torahs and by private instruction and for those having more than five years of religious instruction. It is much smaller for the reform group and those that attended the Sunday school. A break away from this practice of Bible reading occurs for other students at the university and here the percentages are the same for the synagogue affiliated groups and for the religious schools. Some put their Bibles aside just as soon as they leave religious school; others, after they enter the university.

For Section 3, No Bible reading at any period, the reform group and those that attended the Sunday school have the largest percentages and the orthodox and Talmud Torah groups, the lowest. The conservative group and those receiving private instruction are between the two. In Section 4, Increase in Bible study, the reform group and those that attended Sunday school have the largest percentage. The women students have a better record than the men. Many of these women students attended colleges for women at which Bible study is a required course. There the critical treatment of the Bible gives the students a different point of view and a clearer understanding of that literature. A careful study of the replies, constituting the twenty-eight per cent that express an increase in Bible study, indicates that one-third of them had studied or read the Bible before entering the university. The other two-thirds have had little or no instruction at all. The latter had read it rarely before entering the university and after entering had heard about the Bible or read it occasionally. There is no way of determining the degree of the "increase".

In Table XXXV, The God Idea, the Personal concept of God group has the largest percentage for the Sections 1 and 2 and the lowest for 3 and 4. These students with this concept have received the most intensive instruction in the Bible at the religious school and in the home. In Section 4, the Atheistic group has the largest percentage for increase in Bible reading. The an-

swers in the questionnaires do not indicate any connection between Bible study at the university and atheism. Increase in the practice of Bible reading with the Atheistic group means, as stated in the preceding paragraph, little or no knowledge of the Bible before entering the university and then some increase in information while at college. The amount of this increase, however, can not be determined.

About two-thirds of the students have broken away from the practice of Bible reading or are not much concerned about it or have never read the Bible at all. The break away from this practice begins at the high school. The remaining one-third manifest some interest in it, some more, some less. Five per cent of these maintained the regular practice of Bible reading and study during all the educational periods. Bible reading is not entirely ignored or forgotten at the university. An interest in it can be reawakened. The percentage in Section 4 bears testimony to this fact.

II. *Conclusions*

This question did not ask for the expression of the students' opinions. Some, however, can be found among the answers given in the other questions. They bear out the conclusions discussed in this chapter. The Book, namely, the Bible, that has been the source of religion for three great faiths, that has brought strength, comfort and inspiration to all western peoples, that has exerted more influence upon the development of civilization than any other compilation, has lost its hold upon the youth of today. To their fathers it was the one book of real interest. They were familiar with the words and text, they understood and were influenced by its ideas, they were filled with its spirit. It sustained them through centuries of persecution, it gave them strength to endure hardship and to suffer martyrdom. To their sons and daughters today it makes no appeal. The youth of the present generation, the descendants of the people of the Book, have given up the Book. The students take the same negative attitude towards the Holy Scriptures, the source of Judaism, that they do towards Judaism, a denial of its doctrines and its teachings.

There has been a marked trend away from the God idea, the conception developed by the Bible. The home, even more than the religious school, has given its best efforts to instill into the growing child the belief in, and the acceptance of, the God idea, as it came from the very heart of the Bible. The one point of agreement, that characterized the many students who now hold what was called the atheistic or impersonal concept of God, is that they were opposed to the biblical or personal concept of God. That concept did not fit into their experience, did not work out in their every day life. The change in that concept cut the very foundation from under the authority and influence of the Bible. That the Bible was made by man, means to the student that it was neither revealed, nor of divine origin. They did not learn the positive side of the idea of "made by man", the results of biblical criticism, what parts are mythology, what parts history and what parts interpretation. Nor do they know that all the books of the Bible were a development out of the economic, social and political conditions in which our ancestors lived and a growth out of the contacts with the nations that surrounded them. It revealed the knowledge, the forefathers had, of the universe and reality and their groping towards an understanding of the Higher Power. It disclosed first, His relations to, and His demands upon, Israel and then, as the God idea expanded, His relation to, and His demands upon, all the nations. It was an interpretation of their life, their experience, their history in terms of God, a religious interpretation that profoundly affected the life and history of Israel through the many centuries and deeply influenced the thought of all mankind.

Over two-thirds of the students feel that there is a conflict between science and religion, between science and the Bible. The Bible cannot be accepted side by side with science. The students say, "As soon as you begin to think out religious problems for yourself, its value is destroyed." Confusion and doubt about the teachings of the Bible in the student's mind, his indifference and unconcern are due to the unpedagogic methods used in teaching the Bible to children and to young people. The text is read in the Hebrew or the Bible stories are told but no interpretation is ever given. It is presented as though

the conditions, in which our ancestors lived and the outlook they entertained then, were identically the same as those we have today. The children of the religious and Hebrew schools are not taught the Bible against a background of the life, the knowledge and the thought of the age that made possible its beliefs and its philosophy. They are not taught that its point of view is different from that entertained today. The Bible is not presented to them in a way that will make them realize that the heroes of biblical times were men and women as human as we are, that they had difficulties against which to contend, obstacles to surmount, problems to solve and that they struggled valiantly and triumphantly conquered them. Take the dramatic story of the sacrifice of Isaac; it means more than it relates—a call from God to the patriarch to sacrifice his only son and, at the critical moment, the summons from an angel to stay his hand—which is the dramatic way in which the Bible presents it. But if we read between the lines or venture a guess as to what really happened, it might be explained this way. The sacrifice of children was a custom practiced in early days by all peoples. Abraham felt it incumbent upon him to be willing to do no less for his God than the other peoples about him did for theirs. He deliberated long and struggled mightily against acceding to the practice and then reluctantly yielded. At the critical moment, revolt against such an unnatural deed stayed the fatal blow. Not obedience but disobedience, not acquiescence to, but revolt against, custom, does this story teach. He gave to mankind a new, a creative thought; God does not want human sacrifice.

So with Moses. While he shepherded his flocks on the mountain side, he pondered long about the injustices visited upon his brethren in Egypt. The conviction took complete possession of him that release from slavery must come and that he, Moses, must bring about this release. It was the urge and the fire that glowed in his soul that was reflected in the burning bush and echoed in the voice of God. It compelled him, even against his will, to do the bidding of a higher Being. Oriental imagery places these mental and moral forces on the outside of man. He sees visions and hears the voices of angels or sees and speaks to God. The modern man believes these forces are within

him, in conscience, in the urge and conviction that compel action.

The prophets studied carefully the conditions in which they lived and by which they were surrounded. They saw and felt the evils about them, recognized the dangers and suffered with their people. They grappled with the problems of their day and dared to point the way out, however unpopular the solution. It was their creative genius that enabled them to speak in the name of God. Out of this background came the message of social justice of the prophets,

> "But let justice well up as waters,
> And righteousness as a mighty stream."[1]
>
> "It hath been told thee, O man, what is good,
> And what the Lord doth require of thee:
> Only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to
> walk humbly with thy God."[2]
>
> "Wash you, make you clean,
> Put away the evil of your doings
> From before Mine eyes,
> Cease to do evil;
> Learn to do well;
> Seek justice, relieve the oppressed,
> Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."[3]

to which teaching, the men and women of their day turned a deaf ear but to which, peoples of all subsequent ages have listened with respect and admiration.

Religion, taken as a separate activity, cannot be understood. Only in relation to the social, economic and political conditions, out of which it grows and of which it is an interpretation, can its full value be estimated. As a function, religion is always the same; as a content, it is bound to differ from age to age. Either of two methods must be used in teaching the Bible. It can be presented with dramatic effect from the point of view out of which it developed. With that method must go the explanation that the

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[1] Amos, V. 24.
[2] Micah, VI, 8.
[3] Isaiah, I, 16, 17.

outlook then was different from the scientific point of view maintained today. The Bible can be presented as a human document, that the thoughts and actions, that made up the lives of men and women who lived ages ago, can be explained, as we would ours, with the psychological and sociological aids that science has afforded us. If either method were used, youth could better understand, remember, appreciate and even find helpful the literature of Holy Scriptures. As neither method is used, they find the Bible as taught them, a source of confusion and soon after completing religious school, they put it on the shelf. It has no further interest for them.

Youth has put the Bible aside because it portrays effectively the life and conditions of a bygone agricultural age and not that of the industrial civilization in which he lives. His thoughts, his interests, his needs, his activities, his recreations are so different from those found in the Bible. He does not find his counterpart therein. The religious leaders regard his activities as secular and hence no concern to religion. He in turn looks at religion as a something separate from his life and has no time for, no interest in, it.

The prophets, sages and singers of the Bible developed a guide, as carefully as could then be formed, to the way of life, as then conceived. They worked out the religious interpretation of their age. To be influenced by their achievement means to carry on, not the results they achieved but the spirit and purpose with which they were animated. The function of religion now is to find a guide, as accurately as can now be constructed, to the way of life, as now conceived. That is how to develop the religious interpretation of an industrial age. Youth would not then want to get away from the demands of this larger religious outlook for they would become an integral part of his thoughts and actions.

Youth is not influenced by the Bible because the principles developed then are not altogether adequate for moral training or guidance today. Even when the Bible was regarded as a revelation, as containing all the truth, it was found necessary to reconcile it to the philosophy of Plato, by the allegorical method as Philo did, or to harmonize it with Aristotle by the philosophic method, as Maimonides attempted to do.

With the passing of the belief that the Bible contained all the truth, the allegorical and philosophical methods of Bible interpretation were scrapped. The preacher applies the thought of the Bible to modern conditions. But he often reads into the text what is not there and overlooks what is there. The scientific study of the Bible is an effort to restore the original text, to determine what the author desired to say, what he wished to convey, to learn the background and the circumstances that led to, or provoked, the thought.

The prophets could speak with force and authority because they understood the social, economic and political conditions of their day and they offered the newest and best solutions of these problems to an unwilling people. A clear understanding of our complex, changing conditions, which is as indispensable a requirement today, as it was in the past, will lead to a shift of emphasis to other aspects of social and moral life. "There is less willingness to limit the concept of morality to individual problems, individual motives, individual consequences; more insistence that the basic problems are social, the basic causes social and that the basic ills and remedies are both to be found in the social order. The demand is for social engineering as the fundamental approach to the development of character."[4] There is also a shift from emphasis on moral principles and motives to the need of developing a dynamic creative intelligence. For these the principles of the Bible are not adequate. The Bible can inspire us to carry on what it began, a lifelong process of moral education. The too exclusive emphasis on the Bible in religious education has overshot the mark. This method has not succeeded because instead of the Bible becoming the source and inspiration of the moral life of youth, it plays no part at all. This method has failed in that the Bible has not strengthened the intellectual and moral outlook of the students, but has been the source of intellectual confusion and conflict.

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[4] *Education Adequate for Modern Times*, p. 124.

XIII

Prayers in the Home and Synagogue Attendance

Bible reading is a private matter and the extent of Bible reading or study by students, if done at all, can be determined only by direct inquiry or surmised by their attitude toward other religous practices. The practice of praying in the home by the students must be learned in the same way. The extent of synagogue attendance, however, can be attested to by others. Religious leaders have been insistent in their complaint of the ever increasing indifference to public worship and voice their feelings of hopelessness even while trying to attract youth to attend the synagogue. The same reasons, that explain either the student's protest or his indifference to the various aspects of organized religion, can also account for his absence from religious services. The trend away from the personal concept of God, around which the worship is built, the belief in the conflict of religion and science, the secularization of life and the inadequacy of public worship to aid in the ethical training necessary for the changing conditions of an industrial civilization, all these are reasons why students absent themselves from synagogues and temples. The practice of praying in the home and synagogue attendance have many elements in common and can readily be studied together in the same chapter.

I. *Statistics*

A. *Prayers in the Home*

Tables XIV, XXIV and XXXVII tell us the attitude of the students towards this practice. Table XIV is given below and Tables XXIV and XXXVII can be found in the Appendix. Again there is a dividing line between the synagogue affiliated and the unaffiliated as well as between those religiously trained and those with no religious training. The percentages of the students, who come from homes affiliated with the synagogue and who have religious education, can be divided into three parts. One-fourth of them continue the practice of saying prayers

at home regularly or occasionally throughout the three periods of grammar school, high school and university. One-half of them have broken away from the practice of reciting prayers at home and one-fourth of them have never observed the practice of praying at any time at all.

TABLE XIV

Reciting Prayers at Home

Percentages of 1426 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation or Non-affiliation, Having Specified Practices of Reciting Prayers at Home Throughout Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, continuance or change in practice	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	All students
1....	Continued practice of reciting prayers at home throughout grammar school, high school and university. Total of regular and occasional practice of praying	05	22	19	30	22
2....	Break in practice of praying. Total of break in practice of praying at high school and university	19	57	42	38	45
3....	No practice of praying at all	74	16	32	30	27
4....	Increase in practice of praying Total increase in practice at high school and university	03	05	07	04	04
5....	Unknown	04	03	05	05	05

The synagogue unaffiliated with seventy-four per cent have the largest percentage of students who have neither learned nor practiced the offering of prayers at any time. The religiously untrained with fifty-seven per cent have the second largest

percentage with no practice of praying at any period. (Table XXIV, Section 3). The synagogue unaffiliated group have had some religious training and the religiously untrained group have had more of a religious home background. The differences in percentages of these two groups leads to the conclusion again that the instruction and example of the home have more influence in developing the practice of saying prayers than the training at the religious school.

The students from orthodox homes and those trained in the Talmud Torahs and with private instruction, have the largest percentage of a breaking away from this practice of saying prayers at home. In the orthodox homes most of the religious customs are observed and a part of these customs is the reciting of some form of prayer. At the Talmud Torahs and under a teacher giving private instruction, the emphasis is placed upon teaching the Hebrew language, to give the pupils the ability to recite the ritual, for the prayers and customs practiced in the home, as well as for public worship in the synagogues. The instruction these pupils have received at home and at school has been the most intensive of the three groups. The percentages of breaking away from the practice of prayers of this orthodox group as well as of those who attended the Talmud Torahs and received private instruction, are the largest in this section. This large percentage in the breaking away from the practice of saying prayers also indicates that the orthodox group has the largest percentage who were taught to recite prayers. The students, who come from reform homes and who were trained in the Sunday school, have the smallest percentage of breaking away from the practice of saying prayers. In these homes only very few of the customs are observed and few set prayers are recited. In the Sunday school neither the time nor the emphasis is given to learning the Hebrew language nor to teaching the prayers. This tells us why the percentages of the breaking away from saying prayers are the smallest among the reform students and those that attended Sunday schools. The prayers were taught to a smaller precentage of these students but they have, however, the largest percentage of the students who continue the regular or occasional practice. One-half of the students

from conservative homes attend Sunday school. The percentages of this group in the breaking away from this practice of saying prayers and in no practice of saying prayers at all, are much closer to the reform group than to the orthodox. The conservative group have the smallest percentage of students of the three groups, to whom instruction in reciting prayers was given, who continue a regular or occasional practice of saying prayers.

The reform group has a larger percentage for the regular and occasional practice of saying prayers than the orthodox group (Section 1). For the orthodox students, reciting prayers in the morning means putting on the phylacteries and reading the long ritual which constitutes a formal practice. A few of the students in the reform group may have learned and observed the practice as taught to the orthodox group but the majority of them, as far as I have been able to learn from personal conferences, say a short simple prayer they learned in childhood which requires but a moment or two. With the orthodox students there can be no compromise, no half-way measure. Either they observe the practice of reciting the ritual and putting on the phylacteries or they do not. They yield more readily than others to the temptation of breaking away from the practice because they find that this practice requires too much time and thought the very first thing on arising in the morning. The orthodox students have learned far more about the Hebrew language and know far more about the character and contents of the ritual than the reform students but are less inclined to carry on what they know than are the reform students.

In the practice of saying prayers there is a marked difference in percentages between the sexes which ought to be pointed out. In Section 2, Table XIVa the "Breaking away from the practice of saying prayers", is much more noticeable among the men students than among the women. Since the practice of putting on the phylacteries in the morning is taught to boys in the orthodox homes and not to girls, the breaking away from the practice of praying among men students from orthodox homes is, naturally, twice as large as that of the women.

The regular and occasional practice of saying prayers through all educational periods is much larger among the women students

TABLE XIVa

PERCENTAGES OF 1021 MEN STUDENTS AND 420 WOMEN STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION, HAVING SPECIFIED PRACTICES OF RECITING PRAYERS AT HOME DURING THE THREE PERIODS OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

SECTION	EXISTENCE, CONTINUANCE OR CHANGE IN PRACTICE	SEX	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			ALL STUDENTS
				ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	
1.....	Continued practice of reciting prayers at home throughout grammar school, high school and university						
	Total of regular and occasional practice of praying.....	Men	05	19	14	24	19
		Women	05	35	31	35	32
2.....	Break in practice of praying						
	Total of break in practice of praying at high school and university.....	Men	16	62	46	42	52
		Women	21	38	31	33	33
3.....	No practice of praying at all						
	No practice of praying at any period.....	Men	75	14	30	29	25
		Women	71	22	32	30	32
4.....	Increase in practice of praying						
	Total increase in practice at high school and university.....	Men	01	05	08	06	06
		Women	00	05	06	01	03
5.....	Unknown.....	Men	04	03	05	05	04
		Women	0	03	07	04	04

than among the men (Section 1). The men and women students from conservative and reform homes have about the same percentages for no practice of saying prayers at all. In the orthodox group, however, the women have a larger percentage for no practice which means that more effort is devoted to teaching the prayers to the boys in these homes than to the girls.

With the conservative men and women and the orthodox women students as well as those that attended the Sunday school, the percentage of breaking away from this practice was larger at the high school period than at the university. With the orthodox men students that attended Talmud Torahs and received private instruction, the percentage of breaking away from this practice was larger at the university. This latter was also true of those receiving more than five years of instruction. The formal practice of praying was more directly under the influence and guidance of the parents and the home and it was not until these students had left home for the university that the larger percentage of them gave up this practice.

The students with the various God concepts had about the same percentage of breaking away from this practice of saying prayers. The group with the Personal concept of God and the Unknown attitude toward God have the largest percentages of total regular and occasional practice and this same group with the Personal concept of God have the smallest percentages of no practice at all. The group with the Atheistic and Agnostic concepts have a negligible percentage of regular or occasional practice and the largest percentage of no practice at all.

The general conclusions here are the same as in the preceding chapters. With the Personal concept of God group goes the highest percentage of practice of reciting prayers and with the Atheistic and Agnostic groups goes the lowest percentage, indicating the close relationship between the personal concept of God and the high percentage in the practice of saying prayers. The students, who have learned the most and have had the most intensive training in the practice of reciting prayers, show the highest percentage of breaking away from the practice. This break away begins at the high school period if not before.

B. *Synagogue Attendance.*

The students' attitude towards synagogue attendance is demonstrated in Table XIII, given in the text and in Tables XXIII and XXXVI, found in the Appendix. One-fifth of all the respondents maintain a regular or occasional attendance at the synagogue through the three educational periods. Three-fifths break away from the practice of attending services in the synagogue. A very small percentage, about four per cent of the remaining one-fifth, state that they have never attended the synagogue and the other fourteen per cent have increased their attendance while at the university.

The same marked differences are found among the synagogue affiliated and the unaffiliated and the religiously untrained and the religiously trained. The same difference is seen between the synagogue unaffiliated and the religiously untrained which permits of the same conclusion once more, namely, that the home has a stronger influence in developing synagogue attendance than the religious school.

In Section 1, the continued practice of synagogue attendance, the students from the orthodox group and those that attended the Talmud Torah (Table XXIII) have a slightly larger percentage than those from the other groups and from the other religious schools. In Sections 2, 3 and 4 of the two tables, the percentages of each synagogue affiliated group and of all types of religious schools are practically the same. The percentages for the break in synagogue attendance are larger than for any of the other practices, namely, Bible reading or saying prayers. The percentages of break in synagogue attendance are larger at the university than at the high school. This difference of percentages of breaking away from synagogue attendance between the university and high school periods, is distinctly larger with the students from reform homes and those who attended Sunday school. The larger number of these students give up the practice of attending synagogue, not while they are at home but when they are at the university. There is an improvement in synagogue attendance of fourteen per cent due to the work of the various organized religious organizations on the campus, especially to the efforts made by the Hillel Foundation.

PERCENTAGES OF 1456 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION, HAVING SPECIFIED PRACTICES OF SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE AT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

SECTION	EXISTENCE, CONTINUANCE OR CHANGE IN PRACTICE	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			ALL STUDENTS
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	
1.....	Continued practice of synagogue attendance throughout grammar school, high school and university					
a.....	Regular attendance.....	—	13	06	11	11
b.....	Occasional attendance.....	07	12	12	09	10
c.....	Total of regular and occasional synagogue attendance.....	07	25	18	20	21
2.....	Break in synagogue attendance					
a.....	At high school.....	24	27	32	19	25
b.....	At university.....	11	35	34	44	36
c.....	Total of break in synagogue attendance at high school and university.....	35	62	66	63	61
3.....	No synagogue attendance at all					
a.....	At any period.....	37	02	02	02	04
b.....	At university.....	22	09	10	09	11
c.....	Total of no synagogue attendance at all at university.....	59	11	12	11	15
4.....	Increase in synagogue attendance					
a.....	At high school.....	04	03	05	07	04
b.....	At university.....	19	09	10	08	10
c.....	Total increase in synagogue attendance.....	23	12	15	15	14
5.....	Unknown.....	04	02	03	03	03

The students in the Personal concept of God group have the highest percentage of regular and occasional attendance (Table XXXVI) and though high, is yet the lowest percentage among the God concept columns of breaking away from the practice of synagogue attendance. The Atheistic and Agnostic groups have the smallest percentage for regular and occasional synagogue attendance, the largest percentage for both breaking away from synagogue attendance and for no synagogue attendance at all. The percentages for increase in synagogue attendance at the university are about the same for all the God concept groups.

Sections 1 and 4 indicate that about one-third of the respondents attend services regularly or occasionally at the university. Of the other two-thirds, fifteen per cent never attend and fifty per cent attend on special occasions or the High Holidays. This means that eighty-five per cent of the students attend services at least on two or three occasions during the year.

II. *Conclusions*

This question did not call for an expression of opinion by the students. In answering Question 26 they speak of their attitude towards the services and outline the change in feeling they have experienced. It might be well to sum up some of the principal reasons given for their indifference to the services.

In Table XVIII, Section 3, fifteen per cent of the students give as one cause for their change of attitude, the belief in the insincerity of religious activities and religious leaders. This, of necessity, will develop an antagonistic attitude towards religious services. Some of the other causes are learned from the opinions expressed here and there which afford an idea of the prevailing attitude of the students. They are dissatisfied with the content of the services. Hebrew in the services, wherever it is used, is difficult to translate, to understand and to follow. "Repeating the same services," "Putting some one else's words in one's mouth," "Uttering words or phrases without meaning," "All of this has no purpose or value, it imparts nothing, though for some it may have an emotional appeal," "Services are without meaning," "Some of the outworn customs are practiced," "The

mumbling and repetition in some synagogues," "The passive attitude of the congregation," "Theatrical effect" striven after in others, awaken a feeling of antipathy. "Some are not interested in the sermons," and "Others are bored by them." For most of the students that part of the service is the only attractive feature.

Their motives for attending services have their influence. Some go to "Please their parents," or "To avoid conflict," or "Are forced to go." They go as automatons, they can scarcely wait until the services are at an end. To them the "Services are valueless," they get "Nothing out of them." As a result they develop a feeling of antagonism against the synagogue. Then there are personal reasons given, "Because of the death of a parent," some go regularly, are deeply impressed with the services and become more strongly attached to the synagogue. "Others who attend for the same reason," are estranged from the synagogue, because of their dislike for the actions of certain individuals or with the customs or way the services are conducted. "Some feel that it is hypocritical to attend only on the holidays," or a "Hoax to go if you can get nothing out of them." "Some believe that the indifference and the lack of attendance are due to the attitude of the parents and the trend of the times."

"The services must be reconstructed; more modern service, more modern ideas, more modern leaders should be provided." "Services should be arranged in a manner which youth can understand, appreciate and participate in." "They should be a forum for a discussion of individual, social and world problems." "They should reflect reality and suggest the methods in which one can adjust himself to reality."

"The synagogue is no longer needed." "One can pray in any language, in any place, at any time and not necessarily in the synagogue." "The other functions of the synagogue can be performed to better advantage by other agencies."

The Services of the three types of synagogues, the orthodox, the conservative and the reform are championed by some students, and all three are severely criticized by others. The influence of all of them is felt to be weakening. As one student aptly said: "A medium will arise that will endure after all of them."

There are other reasons that can be advanced, in addition to those given by the students, to explain the disregard for personal prayers at home and the indifference to synagogue attendance. The pedagogical methods used in teaching the prayers or the synagogue services have not proved to be the right ones. The pupils are trained to learn and to repeat a ritual. They are not taught to pray. They may learn to read the prayers and the religious services, some learn more, some less, but they do not develop a prayerful attitude. The Talmud Torahs and the systems of private instruction, which provide the most intensive training, place the strongest emphasis on teaching the child the Hebrew language, to enable him to recite the prayers of private devotion at home and to participate in the public worship at the synagogue. Judaism, its customs and ceremonies and services are primarily adult institutions and the child must be taught to adjust himself to these practices so as to live harmoniously with his people. The ritual is the most important feature of the religious services. The principal objective of all religious schools is to train the child to become a member of the synagogue and to participate in the services. Attempts have been made to give some consideration to the child. Children are taught to conduct their own services or to participate in the public services of the synagogue. In either case, it is but an abbreviated form of the ritual for adults that is used. Children's services are of recent development. They invariably have the same faulty characteristics in whatever form they are given; they are but a simplified or abbreviated form of the services for adults. Religious leaders who are asked to write services for children invariably draw upon their adult experience. The need of experimenting with children in developing a religious service, suitable to their needs and interests, has been neglected. To encourage children to be creative in expressing their religious thoughts and feelings would be a helpful method. To aid the child to be aware of the blessings in his own life and experience for which to be grateful or to see the beauties of nature for which to express praise or to understand the wonders of life before which to stand in awe, will aid in the development of the religious feelings and thoughts of the child. To develop his religious as

well as his moral nature and to learn to use the various aspects of his own experience, which are the objectives of character education, have not as yet become a part of the curriculum of the religious school. Though the content of the prayers has been emphasized in religious instruction, the religious nature of the child has been neglected. The method of endeavoring to fit the child into an adult institution and to prepare him for the adult services has had the inevitable results, which the statistics and the opinions of the students reveal, namely, that the students have thrust the custom of saying prayers into the discard, have lost interest in synagogue attendance, and have been left without the guidance which would help to develop religious emotions and feelings.

The marked trend away from the personal concept of God and the break away from synagogue attendance, both of which are so strongly manifested by the students, are part and parcel of the same process. The personal concept of God and the highest percentages of observances of customs are always closely associated together. In the same way this God concept and the highest percentage of synagogue attendance go together. This God concept and the ritual as well as the Bible grew out of the same background, are all symbolic of the same life philosophy, of the same interpretation of reality. The new forces against which religion has had to contend, the conflict of religion and science, the industrial civilization with the secularization of life and the development of new methods to solve the moral problems of the new age have undermined the belief in the personal concept of God and destroyed the interest in, and attendance at, the synagogue. It is not only a question of the Hebrew language that is used in the services in the orthodox synagogue and in large measure in the conservative synagogue. The same difficulties are met with in the reform temple where the services are shortened and said almost entirely in English. The same percentages of breaking away from synagogue attendance as well as the regular and occasional attendance are practically the same with the students whose parents are affiliated with any of the three synagogue groups. The reform temple is no more successful in holding the college students or its youth than is the

orthodox and the conservative synagogue. The liturgy, that has been so soul stirring and uplifting in the services of the synagogue through all the centuries, blossomed and flowered in an agricultural age and was deeply expressive of the attitude of faith and submission of the farmer, the husbandman and the shepherd. The services with chanted traditional melodies, rich in aesthetic beauty, may awaken well beloved memories and stir deep emotions but they no longer are the voice of the aspirations and hopes of our present civilization nor are they expressive of the newer symbol of creative participation in the activities of our newer life. These religious services can be looked upon as poetry, if you will, or as a means of preserving Israel but they are inadequate for present day needs nor can they awaken responsive chords in the heart of our youth. This is not a prayerful age. It does not give utterance in adoration nor does it sing praises to God.

The efforts of the synagogue to save its influence reveal a conflict of ideas and ideals. Men and women are absorbed in their work and their play or in attending to their needs and interests and in being entertained by the innumerable forms of recreations and pastimes. They have no time or interest for worship in the synagogue nor for the expounding of the ideas of an age long past. The synagogue has itself become largely secularized in the struggle against secular interests. Services are preached on current topics, on the best sellers in books, the latest movies, the most popular plays at the theatres. Advertising campaigns and drives of one kind or another are undertaken to attract the attention of the members and to increase the attendance at the services. Card parties are given and bazaars held for building funds or to aid in maintaining the institution. These activities are considered religious in the belief that the end justifies, and imparts a religious character to, the means. Various activities are started not because there is always a need or a demand for them but because the religious leaders must hold their own members and attract others. Religion holds itself aloof from the secular in theory but in practice it opens the doors on all sides to the secular. The worship and the customs are religious, the sermons and the activities are secular. Such contradictory and

chaotic conditions now exist in the synagogue. There is need to face the issue squarely and to think the problem out to its conclusion. Shall the synagogue maintain the traditional religious ideals and forms of expression? It must then exclude all that is secular. It must keep itself aloof from all that modern man cares for. Shall it, on the other hand, acquiesce in the demand for the ideas and sentiments that have a real meaning for the masses of the members of the congregation? All the secular activities must then be introduced. This is a compromise, a half-way measure, a temporizing with the problem. This procedure weakens the traditional purpose of the synagogue of teaching and inspiring faith, dependence and submission. It does not offer the new purpose, so indispensable today, a critical examination of the social order, an understanding of the causes of the existing evils and maladjustment and a creative participation in making the social order more responsive to the needs of our people. The synagogue halts between two alternatives neither of which is acceptable. The traditional method does not help, does not inspire. The dragging in of the secular is without goal or purpose and does not satisfy the advocates of the traditional or of the social interpretation of religion. Religion is face to face with the problems of an industrial civilization which problems religion has not met nor attempted to solve before. It must take a definite and clear-cut position. "It must accept the world only to rise above it and conquer it; it must embrace men's vital concerns only to relate them to a basic religious ideal which will clarify and elevate them."[1] It must give a religious interpretation to the activities and needs of an industrial age. It must bridge the gap existing between itself and contemporary life.

The need today is not for a listening but for a thinking congregation. This purpose cannot be accomplished through sermons. The sermon is a part of the older function of the synagogue. The members of the congregation in former days were very well versed in their Bible and Talmud. The efforts of the Rabbi then, to give a new and at times original interpretation to the words

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[1] John Herman Randall, Jr., "Some Major Characteristics of Our Changing Civilization", *Religious Education*, June, 1930, p. 510.

and ideas of this literature, were enjoyed and appreciated. The aim was to deepen the faith in God and to strengthen their belief in His promises. As long as the old symbol of faith and submission holds sway, as it must in the services of the synagogue, then the sermon still has its place. It matters not how much of its thoughts or ideas are remembered, as long as it leaves the impression and strengthens the faith that "God's in His heaven and all's right with the world." The sermons on the topics of the day with their secular appeal endeavor to carry on the traditions of the synagogue. They do not accomplish their intended purpose. They do not implant a deepened faith in the hearts of their hearers. Neither the preacher nor the congregation has the same faith and the same religious outlook that their fathers had. The sermons on current topics may tend to attract to the synagogue many, who otherwise would not come, and may interest them but the listening to sermons once a week cannot provide the training necessary for understanding and solving the problems that beset us today. The synagogue needs not sermons but creative education.

If the symbol of religion is faith and submission, then the function of the synagogue must be worship and prayer. If the symbol becomes creative participation in the building of a new order, the function of the synagogue must be education and guidance. There must be a re-definition of the function of the synagogue, a shift of the center of gravity from worship to study.

Professor Solomon Zeitlin of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, in his article "The Origin of the Synagogue" states, "When the Jews returned to Palestine, they did not settle in one place only, as in Jerusalem, but were scattered over all Judea in various villages and towns. In these smaller settlements where they had to meet the social and economic problems that confronted them in their practical life, they summoned assemblies of all the inhabitants of the towns and villages. Such meetings though called primarily for economic reasons were no doubt attended with some sort of prayer as was the custom among the Jews."[2] The synagogue developed out of the needs

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[2] *Proceedings of American Academy for Jewish Research, 1930–1931*, pp. 75 and 76.

of the people. First it was a house of assembly where pressing problems were discussed and then it became also a house of learning and a house of prayer. That is the very process through which the synagogue must pass again today with the emphasis on it as a house of learning. It must be a place of gathering for discussing the many vital problems of our own day. There are the social problems of the home, the training of children, the guidance of youth, the ideals of marriage and family life, and of man and his relation to a larger society with its activities, institutions and organizations. There are the economic questions of the office, the shop, the store, the relation of the employer and the employee, with its phases of social engineering, social planning and social justice. There are the political problems, the knowledge of the local, state, national and international issues so that a well informed public opinion might be developed. There is the reconstruction in religious education that it might become more of the nature of character education. Youth and the adult must be taught how to spend the increase of leisure time that the reorganization of industry is bound to provide. Even the problems of charity and relief, if studied carefully in all their aspects, will open up many social, economic, national and international problems. These questions affect directly the life and welfare of the members of the congregation and are entitled to most serious consideration. Education must be carried on through the contributions all make to the discussion. Each will have studied the subject, will profit by the suggestions offered, will assimilate the facts and their interpretation and will be able to act upon the conclusions reached. The function of religion is to integrate life, to make each act an expression of man's religious convictions, to set the highest standards for all his activities and to measure all of his actions by these standards.

From these discussions and endeavors will arise the expression of the longings, the hopes, the aspirations of the people which can be the expression of prayer and song and which will eventually grow into a service. This type of education must be developed for our youth and our adult if man is to be master of, and not be mastered by, this industrial civilization. If the synagogue will not do this for its people, other agencies will spring up to undertake

this work. The synagogue will either adopt these methods and processes or other agencies will do the work of the synagogue. It is possible now only to point the direction of the movement. The details must be worked out by coöperative thinking. Life will again, as it ever has done, create, mould and reconstruct its own institutions. The synagogue must again become a house of assembly and a house of study as well as a house of prayer, to grapple with, and to solve, the many problems that life has thrust upon us. With these endeavors the synagogue can reawaken in its behalf the enthusiasm and loyalty of youth as well as the adult. It can exert then a deep spiritual influence over the new activities of our new civilization and it can again, as it did in the past, make a religious contribution to the thought and life of the Jew and of mankind.

PART IV

THE CONCLUSIONS

XIV

The University

The training of the university ought to be the development of intelligence and of character but the present system has not produced a helpful or constructive effect. (1) The dominant aim of the university, on its intellectual side, is the imparting of facts rather than the development of intelligence, (2) college life is too departmentalized, (3) the educational system is not adapted to the needs of the whole individual. These are the criticisms leveled against the educational process of the universities at the "Discussions and Proposals of the National Student-Faculty Conference on Religion and Education" and published in the book, "Education Adequate for Modern Times."[1]

Not because the university has undermined the religion of its students, though some parents and religious leaders complain of this, has the university been subjected to severe criticism but rather because it has not been constructive in the training of intelligence, in the development of the emotional life, the religious and social attitudes of the students. Some universities are experimenting with their curricula and objectives. Most of the universities are becoming keenly aware of their weaknesses as well as their strength and are seriously concerned with the changes that need to be made. The educational process, that could satisfy the requirements of a few select students in an aristocratic age, is utterly inadequate to meet the needs of the masses of students that now attend universities in a democratic age. Education, like religion, must grow out of the needs and the problems of the life of its time.

Much time and thought are given to the need of changes in

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[1] *Education Adequate for Modern Times*, p. 3–4.

the curricula and objectives of the universities. Some of the results of these studies might be applied to the changing attitude of the Jewish college students to their religion. These changes have frequently been referred to. The causes for these changes are the conflict of religion and science, the secularization of life with its many interests and activities and the inadequacy of the principles of a practically unchanging era for the moral education in an ever changing industrial age. The training of the university does not clarify or vitalize these causes in the mind of the students. It rather tends to make confusion worse confounded. There are two aspects to this subject, first, the effect the life and training have upon the Jewish students in particular and second, upon all students in general, the non-Jew as well as the Jew.

The adjustment the students make to the university environment is indicated in part by the answers given to Question 28, "In your social life or in the classroom have you felt the desire or debated with yourself or discussed with your friends the need of openly stating, emphasizing or of concealing the fact that you are a Jew? Explain." Table XXI was arranged not on the basis of a check off but from the explanations given by the students. There were four sections, (1) the need to state the fact openly, (2) the feeling that there is no need to overemphasize it, (3) the belief that there is prejudice or it is easily aroused, (4) the desire to deny that one is a Jew. Section 1, the need to state the fact openly has thirty-four per cent, the orthodox group has the largest percentage of the three, the conservative and reform groups have the smaller percentage. A marked difference exists between the synagogue affiliated and the unaffiliated. This percentage resembles very closely that of the Personal concept of God group (Table XV, Section 1). About one-third of the students in this section have a strong and deep Jewish consciousness and do not hesitate to state that they are Jews when occasion demands it. A small percentage, about one-sixth of these also in this same section, are inclined to be aggressive. A slightly larger percentage are perfectly willing to state the fact even when it entails a personal sacrifice. The largest number of this group feel a deep pride in their religion

and believe that it avoids awkwardness, brings about a better understanding, wins respect and gets one much further by openly saying that one is a Jew and by discussing in a friendly way the ideas and ideals of Judaism.

Section 2 has fifty-three per cent. The reform and conservative groups have a larger percentage than the orthodox. The synagogue unaffiliated group has the largest of all. These students do not deny their Judaism but they give so many reasons expressing the belief that, unless occasion demands it, there is no need of overemphasizing the difference in religion. "That is entirely a personal matter" . . . "One should pass for his worth, or play your part like a man," or "Conduct yourself that you will not become an unwanted member," or "One can adapt or fit himself into his surroundings without hurting his neighbor," or "You don't have to shout it from the housetops," or "One who flaunts it, apologizes for it."

Section 3 with seven per cent is made up of those who state that prejudice is manifested by some professors and by some students.

Section 4 with six per cent comprises those who would deny their religion under certain circumstances for social or economic reasons.

These sections indicate the attitudes the students take or the means they use of adjusting themselves to their environment. This adjustment affects the Jewish students in different ways. In Chapter VIII, Religion deepened or unchanged, reference was made to the fact that about five per cent of that group felt their religion was deepened because of the prejudice they experienced on the campus. This results from the difficulties, inconveniences and even heartaches that some have suffered because of their personal experiences with non-Jewish students in relation to organizations or athletic activities. Their reactions to these experiences are to turn their thoughts back to their people and faith, to create a desire to learn more of the history of the Jews and Jewish literature and to participate more fully in the activities of the Jewish organizations on the campus. In this chapter it was pointed out that the social contacts that the Jewish students make with each other and the influences exerted,

account for the deepening of their religious faith. The environment on the campus may not have the same helpful effect upon all students. The facts do not warrant the statement that prejudice against the Jewish students is general on the campus. Often it is a matter of personal experience. On the same campus, some students meet with it in some athletic activities while others testify that other athletic activities are perfectly free from it. Some professors may manifest it openly or subtly, others do not. Many Jewish students state that a line of distinction socially between them and the other students is more sharply drawn at the university than at the high school. They sense the difference and feel the distinction. It embitters many students and with some it causes a reaction against their own faith. It makes them feel that their religion is a burden and a handicap. They feel an added conflict and confusion which they endeavor to clarify. They experience an unfamiliar, and at times, an unfriendly atmosphere in the university environment to which they must somehow adjust themselves.

The university cannot be held responsible for the undermining of the religious faith of the students, a criticism which has been levied against the universities by parents and religious leaders. The students become acquainted with different cultures and different religions. They are influenced by the books that they read and study. The physical and social sciences develop a different outlook and viewpoint than that given by religion. It breaks down the belief in the divine origin of man, the Bible and the customs and ceremonies. The increase in knowledge is one of the reasons most frequently referred to as the cause of change. They come in contact with students who have many different views and opinions. There is no guiding hand, and they must perforce shift for themselves. They are influenced by the views of their professors; some in a radical departure from fundamentalism, others, in a deepening of religious faith. They are becoming more mature, they are being taught to think for themselves. Their mind is broadened, their experience enriched. The same weakening of religious belief is experienced by young people who do not go to the university. This starts in the high school and in many instances even while the pupils

are still at the religious school and under the guidance of their parents. They turn away from the personal concept of God, feel the conflict between religion and their new knowledge and begin to disregard the religious customs and are indifferent to Bible reading and synagogue attendance. The agencies of communication may be different but the same influences are at work upon the thought and outlook of youth everywhere. Twenty-five questionnaires were filled out by young men and women whose education ended with high school graduation. A comparison of these answers with those of the students of the universities and colleges, which have formed the basis of this study, indicates that youth outside of the university is far inferior in the ability to understand the changes, through which his thoughts are passing, and to describe them clearly. These changes in religious practice and belief are absolutely inevitable. The home and the religious schools have not prepared these students to understand or to adjust themselves to the new forces and influences which are a part of the atmosphere that they breathe. They must be held responsible and not the university.

The changes in religious belief are inevitable but the causes that bring them about are not so clearly understood. The university might help vitalize and clarify the nature of these causes in the mind of the students so that they might recognize just what has weakened their faith and how best it can be reconstructed. In the conflict between religion and science in the mind of the student, he understands neither religion nor science. The religious schools have not taught him religion, the secular schools have not taught him the meaning of science. It is surprising to learn in discussion groups, made up of university students, how little they know about science as a method or philosophy. Every student takes some branch of the physical or social sciences and yet they know so little about science itself. All they seek to get at are the facts so as to be able to use them at a quiz or at the examinations. Every student ought to know that science alone is not adequate in developing a full life. He is free to set up his own purposes and ideals and he can call upon science to help him realize them. There is room in the scientific world for God, religion and morality. He can develop and set up a phi-

losophy of life more satisfying than what his limited outlook now offers. What he learns from facts has value only so far as these facts bear some relation to his life philosophy and to his life situations. What must be emphasized then are not the facts but the creating of a scientific point of view, the development of intelligence and the ability to judge, appreciate and understand. Not the piling up of data should be stressed but the strengthening of the sense of values. A sound estimate of value is most essential at all times. The objectives of the university have been and must ever be to train in its students the ability to cultivate and foster the spiritual and cultural values of life.

Religion has weakened because of the clash of two civilizations. Religious customs of a past age do not fit into the life of the present age. The need for all religious customs is gone, it seems, as far as the students are concerned. How much does the student know of the character and problems of an industrial civilization? The work at the university is too much departmentalized. The student is required to take too many courses at once without having in mind the relation between them, "His mind is cluttered up with scraps of every subject and it never gets from them any intellectual pattern."[2] He ought to be taught to develop, "A study technique that would provide a master key to the Hall of Knowledge, rather than a hurried glance into each room."[3] His whole time in each course is devoted to a study of the past, the conditions and the history out of which the subject matter developed so that there is very little time left to learn about the present. The process ought to be reversed. In the present conditions are the important elements. Students ought to know something of the society in which they live, of the political, social and economic forces by which they are surrounded and by which their lives are influenced. What part does man contribute in the making of this machinery and what part is he expected to play in its mastery and control? With more knowledge and understanding of the forces of the present age there would be less of a social lag with its social maladjustment and

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The Students Speak Out, p. 7.
Ibid p. 3.

economic depressions. That life philosophy is worthwhile which urges an active participation in the planning and social engineering so essential today, one that inspires us to the long look ahead that might help in the solving of many of life's difficult problems. It is this understanding that will aid in the forming of a new symbol for religion, not the passive resignation and submission of the past, but the creative participation in the control of experience and mastery of the machine age. To learn to coöperate with all the social forces to make a better world, that can be the purpose of a university training.

For the moral training under the changing conditions of an industrial age, present-day religion does not seem to be adequate. The educational process of the university does not aid either in the development of intelligence or of character, yet both are very closely united. To develop an objective or scientific point of view, to strengthen the desire to solve the problems arising from the machine age, these two together will bring about a development of character. The question is, how can these aims be accomplished in each individual case; how can the individual student adjust himself to the conditions in which he lives and how can he adjust these conditions to himself? This cannot be successfully done by lectures and examinations but by direct contact and close association between students and professors. The needs of the whole individual will then be more evident, and the course of study prescribed and the guidance given will lead to development of intelligence and character. "For the conditions of intellectual righteousness are also the prime conditions of moral and religious vigor. Informed, discriminating judgment upon the major interest of humanity, practiced appreciation, self-chosen coöperative labor upon the structure of society—these are at once the functions of intelligence, the elements of cultivated goodness and the vestibule of worship. Let us be intelligent! This is the road to character—academic, moral and religious—for student, teacher, dean, president and member of the board of control."[4]

[4] Coe, "Intellectual Righteousness or Let Us Be Intelligent", in *Education Adequate for Modern Times*, p. 76.

XV

The Affiliated and Unaffiliated Groups and Their Differences
Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Groups and Their Likenesses

The tables of statistics tell the story of the break away by Jewish students in the universities and colleges from the beliefs and the customs of Judaism as taught them in the school, the home and the synagogue. About two-thirds of all the respondents indicate a trend away from the personal concept of God. The minds of three-fourths of them are troubled with some form of intellectual conflict or doubt in relation to their religion. At least two-thirds if not more of the Jewish students are dissatisfied with religious customs and practices. They find them inadequate, reject them and prefer an emphasis on morals rather than on customs and ceremonies. Over two-thirds of the students have given up the practice of studying or reading the Bible. Only five per cent do it regularly. Over three-fourths of the students have broken away from or have never developed the habit of saying prayers in the home. Eleven per cent have continued the regular practice. Over two-thirds have broken away from regular service attendance. Fifteen per cent never attend at all. Most of the remainder may be present at religious services on the High Holidays, two or three times a year. About one-fifth of the students maintain that their faith has deepened or remained unchanged at the university. Very little of this is due to the solving of any of their religious conflicts or problems. The favorable attitude is due to an increase in knowledge of things Jewish or to their carrying over, without questioning, the customs and ceremonies practiced in the home or an inability or unwillingness to see any conflict between religion and science. Even those who faithfully observe these customs feel that some changes ought to be made. Most of these students have a religious background. About ninety-four per cent come from homes where the parents were affiliated with the

synagogue, eighty-six per cent from homes in which some or most of the religious customs were observed and eighty-seven per cent have received some religious education for a duration of one to twelve years either in the Sunday school, the Talmud Torah or by private instruction.

In this chapter consideration will be given to the conclusions drawn from the Tables in Series A, Synagogue Affiliation and in the following chapter, from the Tables in Series B, Religious Education. In the Tables on Synagogue Affiliation two conclusions are important. (1) The difference in percentages in all the tables are between the students with no affiliation and those with synagogue affiliation. (2) The similarities in percentages among the students of the three groups with synagogue affiliation, indicate that there is a similarity in reaction to the forces in their environment by all these students and therefore a similarity in the religious training all of them receive.

A line was drawn between the students with no affiliation and the students with synagogue affiliation in every Table in Series A, Synagogue Affiliation. There were no exceptions. This conclusion must be emphasized, that the difference in percentages amounting in some instances to over fifty per cent is based on synagogue affiliation. The number of students with no affiliation is not large, about seven per cent, not as large as might be expected. The difference between the homes, affiliated with the synagogue, and those not affiliated, may not have been based on the actual fact of affiliation but rather on the desire for affiliation. Affiliation in the minds of the students may have been determined by the parents' attitude towards the synagogue. If the parents attended services occasionally, were favorably inclined towards the synagogue, expressed a desire to be affiliated, even though they contributed no membership dues and did not have their names on the membership roll of any synagogue, that attitude probably meant affiliation to the students. But in the homes in which there was neither any synagogue affiliation nor any marked desire for it, this was interpreted as no affiliation. This liberal interpretation of "no affiliation" may explain the reason for the small number of students who come from homes without synagogue affiliation. More than half of these students

have had no religious education. About half of them have had no religious background in the home. These students have no conserving tendencies. The percentages that this unaffiliated group has, of the personal concept of God, are much less than that of the synagogue affiliated group, but are much larger for the impersonal and atheistic concepts. The percentages are smaller in the group, religion deepened or unchanged, smaller in the groups that are troubled by doubt and confusion and smaller among those who feel that there is a conflict between religion and science but larger among those who are dissatisfied with the forms of religion. This unaffiliated group has a smaller percentage in the continued practices or break away from these practices, but a much larger percentage in no practice at all, or in increase in practice at the university. They have learned less about religion, they consequently conserve less, they are less bothered by intellectual difficulties. They show very clearly the trends away from the beliefs and practices. They have no religious education nor religious background. They adjust themselves much more easily to the intellectual and social environment of the university and yet remain loyal to Judaism.

Synagogue affiliation, which implies religious education and a religous environment in the home, has an influence upon the students. There is a similarity in this influence upon the students from orthodox, conservative and reform homes which are affiliated with the synagogue. This is clearly shown by the marked similarity of percentages of the students in the three synagogue affiliated groups. This conclusion holds good in the conserving tendencies, with the same percentage in the three groups for belief in the personal concept of God, with the same percentage in carrying over their "religion deepened or unchanged" into the university. This conclusion also holds good for the trends away from the religious beliefs and practices. All three groups have the same very large percentage of intellectual difficulties, doubts, confusion and conflict. All three alike show the trend away from the personal concept of God, the same dissatisfaction with the religious customs and ceremonies, and the same break away from the practices of Bible reading, saying prayers in the home and synagogue attendance. All three alike

emphasize morals as more important than religious customs. There are slight differences in percentages among the three groups in the Tables in Series A, Synagogue Affiliation. These were pointed out in the different chapters. The differences were explained on the basis of a more intensive religious education and a home environment where there is rigid observance. The students from the orthodox group have had this type of education and have lived in this kind of an environment. The students from conservative homes have had a less intensive religious education and come from homes not so strict in observance. The students from the reform homes have had relatively the least religious education and religious home environment of the three groups. The orthodox have a slightly larger percentage in the belief in the personal concept of God, in synagogue attendance and also in the protest against the observance of religious customs and in the break away from the religious practices. The conservatives have the largest percentages in changing the conception of Judaism as a religion of custom to that of morality and in dissatisfaction with the forms of religion. The reform group has the largest percentages in the subjective concept of God and a slightly larger percentage in carrying religion deepened or unchanged into the university or the continued practice of praying in the home.

These differences become unimportant when considered side by side with the similarities that exist throughout all the tables. There are the same reactions, by the students of the three different religious groups, to the forces of the environment. Whatever differences in the interpretation of Judaism there may be among the orthodox, conservative and reform groups, these reactions by the students argue for like influences at work upon all the students. "Our present religious institutions reflect rather a social economic process than anything else. Wealth often determines affiliation; idealogical differences, if at all sensed by the adherents of the synagogue, do not seem to be nearly so important. The only thing that is common to all those affiliated with the synagogue is an interest in Jewish things and in the survival of Jewish group life, however much they may differ as to

the type of group life desired."[1] Some students may come from reform homes in which the family has been very observant and some may come from conservative or orthodox homes that observed few if any religious customs. Many of the reform synagogues have introduced into their services some of the practices of the conservative group because of their emotional appeal. Some of the religious leaders of the reform synagogue have come from orthodox and observant backgrounds and have carried that attitude into the reform synagogue to impress it upon the children of the school and the members of the congregation.

There are differences in the interpretation of Judaism among the three groups. The orthodox consider Judaism as a divine revelation and will not permit of any change except by the interpretation of an authoritatively recognized body. Their traditions have been sanctified by centuries of observance. It is both the duty and the privilege of each generation to maintain the same loyalty to the faith of the fathers. No Sanhedrin can be assembled and so no changes can be made in the nature or extent of its religious practices. They may not be observed in reality but the institutions continue ever unchanged. The need, to provide means of adjustment between the practices of the religion and the needs of the day, does not arise for them nor is it a matter of any consideration. The one is religious and the other secular, a distinct separation exists between the two and there is no necessity to adjust one to the other. The conservative group has no officially defined position. The religious leaders of this group are deeply conscious of the many difficulties and problems with which Judaism is confronted. They have yielded to the introduction of some innovations in the synagogue but they lean decidedly toward the orthodox viewpoint in the practice and interpretation of religious observances.

The reform wing of Judaism made changes in the ritual and in the customs. "Reform Judaism claims that a distinction must be made between the universal percepts of

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[1] Emanuel Gomorran, "Communal Responsibility of the Synagogue", *Jewish Education*, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 138.

religion and morality and the enactments arising from the circumstances and conditions of special times and places. Customs and ceremonies must change with the varying needs of different generations. Successive ages have their individual requirements for the satisfaction of the religious nature. No ceremonial law can be eternally binding. No one generation can legislate for all future ages. Mankind grows. The Biblical books and the Talmudical collections, when approached in this spirit, yield wonderful results. The stream of change and development is perceptible throughout."[2] The changes made by the reform group seemed to the orthodox an abrogation of the law. Time has softened the feelings of hostility between them. The changes made in the ritual and in the customs have proven helpful, for they have kept many faithful to Judaism. The religious leaders of the reform movement may be divided into two classes, one that is inclined to Zionism and emphasizes the importance of the Jewish people. From the Jewish people came the ideas of the religion and culture and from a united Israel will again develop the ideals and needs for a new era. The other group emphasizes the importance of religion. It was religion that distinguished the Jew from the surrounding nations, that has preserved him through the ages. This leads to a tendency to universalize religion, to abstract it from the life from which it sprang. They emphasize religion as a content not as a function. Neither of these groups has grasped the full meaning of the present problem, that the new symbols and the new ideals must grow out of the needs, the conditions and the problems of the age in which we live.

The reform movement has changed the extent of the ritual and the customs but not their underlying meaning. It is an abbreviation not a reconstruction of orthodox Judaism. The religious services in the temple may have been shortened but they are still based upon the same personal concept of God. Some of the observances are retained, most of the holidays observed, one day instead of two. These observances still have the same meaning and are interpreted in the spirit of a life

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[2] Philipson, *The Reform Movement*, p. 3.

and an age that are gone. It is against these ideas that the students protest. There is a trend away from the personal concept of God and a need for constructing a new concept and a new symbol. The students feel the customs and observances inadequate for present-day living. They were developed and come from an age that is different from ours, a bygone age. All the students are equally confused for neither the reform, any more than the conservative or the orthodox groups, provide the children with the means, or teach the methods, of adjusting the teachings of the religious school to the secular knowledge of high school and university, of harmonizing the religious observances with the secular activities, interests or needs. None of these religious groups, neither orthodox, conservative nor reform have been successful in holding or interesting their youth in religion or the synagogue. The students, regardless of the group, reform, conservative or orthodox from which they come, manifest the same trends, experience the same intellectual difficulties, protest against the same religious customs, break from the same religious practices.

Religious leaders have not been trained to do work among students and young people. What is most discouraging is that the seminaries are not giving any special training now which will fit their men to be the religious directors of youth groups. They are making no provision that seeks to prepare their leaders to take their place in a changing world. Some of the seminaries have courses in Sociology or in Social Service. These are merely additions to the regular curriculum. The social viewpoint does not permeate the work done in these institutions. The courses in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, in Bible, Talmud, Jewish Philosophy, Literature, Ethics and Homiletics, dominate the curriculum. These subjects, important as they may be, are devoted to the portrayal of the religious life and thought of bygone ages. The faculties of these institutions, men of profound learning, ranking high as scholars, study and teach in the quiet and peace of an academic atmosphere and have no contact with, no knowledge of, and no concern for, the baffling problems with which our youth and age are confronted. The training for leadership under such tutelage would be effective,

if the graduates of the seminaries were to carry on the instruction of their masters in the same atmosphere. The seminaries are giving their men a training in leadership for an age that is gone, not for the conditions or the problems of a changing era. Religion is challenged, civilization is threatened. If religious leadership is to play no part in understanding conditions and in helping to make a better social order, it can exert no influence. No research is made to determine the needs of Jewish youth, no leaders trained to serve their interests or to guide their activities. When religious leaders call youth complacent, indifferent, nonconforming, hopeless, they do not describe the striking characteristics of youth but rather they advertise their inability to understand the problems clearly, to face the issues squarely and to provide adequately for the urgent needs of our day.

XVI

Groups With and Without Religious Education and Their Differences
Talmud Torah, Private Instruction and Sunday School Groups and Their Likenesses

The same conclusions are arrived at in the Tables of Series B, Religious Education, as in those of Series A, Synagogue Affiliation. They mark the trend away from the personal concept of God, the doubt and confusion relating to the beliefs of the students and the dissatisfaction and rejection of the religious ceremonies on the part of so large a percentage of the respondents.

In the preceding chapter we find that, since the students of all three groups, orthodox, conservative and reform, reveal the same reactions to the forces in the environment, they are therefore trained under the same religious influences. In this chapter it will be demonstrated that the religious instruction of the three types of religious schools has the same negative results.

In Chapter XIV, it was pointed out that in all the Tables of Series A, a difference in percentage, most often a marked difference, was always found between the students with no affiliation and those with synagogue affiliation. In the Tables in Series B, Religious Education, a difference of percentage between the students with no religious education and those with religious education is found in some of the tables but not in all of them.

Two-thirds of those religiously untrained have come from homes in which religious customs were observed. The groups with religious training have had religious education as well as religious background. Differences between those with and without religious instruction are to be found in the practices in which more knowledge was added or feeling deepened by religious education. These differences are found in the percentages for the personal concept of God, for doubt, confusion, conflict and for the continued practice and the break away from the practices. These differences disappear in the percentages for religion deepened and unchanged, for the dissatisfaction with

religious customs, for changing the conception of Judaism as a religion of customs and ceremonies to that of civilization, nationality, morals. The influences of both the home and the religious school have contributed to the training in the beliefs and practices from which the students are breaking away. When it is the influence of the home over against that of the religious school, that of the home is by far the stronger but both the religious school and the home influences together are naturally more effective than that of the home alone. In the practices of Bible reading, praying in the home and synagogue attendance, it is easily understood that the percentages between the two groups with and without religious training will differ. But the influence of the religious school adds considerably to that of the home in the percentages of doubt, confusion and conflict.

The percentages of the three types of religious instruction are practically the same. There are differences, of course, but these differences can be accounted for again, as in the preceding chapter, on a basis of a more intensive religious instruction and a stricter, observant home atmosphere. The negative results upon the students of the three types of religious instruction are practically the same. The more intensive the instruction or the longer the duration, the greater the protest against, or the break away from, the religious practices, the more negative, shall we say, the instruction becomes.

The attitude of doubt, confusion and conflict is most widespread. From two-thirds to three-fourths of all the respondents are troubled with intellectual conflicts. These high percentages, for the students with the three different types of religious education, are the same. A critical questioning attitude is not encouraged. This might destroy the religious feeling. In the end this kind of instruction leads to confusion, and the influence of the beliefs is undermined. Beliefs, as just beliefs, without connection with the background from which they come and without relation to the present-day viewpoint, are of little value. The moment the beliefs or practices are questioned, the intellectual difficulties begin. It is when there is no thinking or questioning that the belief in the personal concept of God is maintained, that the religious customs are observed and religion

is carried over into the universities. Some religious schools foresee the difficulties of teaching the history and principles of Judaism to adolescents and confirm or graduate their pupils before they attain, as some call it, the sophisticated age. These religious leaders are conscious of the problems but they make no attempt to analyze or solve them. Parents and religious leaders endeavor to minimize the undermining effect of religious confusion and conflict and content themselves with the hope that the students will eventually outgrow these adolescent vagaries. None of the different types of religious schools provide their pupils with the means or teach them the method by which they can reconcile the training they receive in the religious schools with the education in the secular schools. The teaching in all these religious schools leaves a sense of doubt, confusion or conflict in the minds of the students whether the training be intensive or not, the duration of attendance at them, short or long. Religion can exert no influence upon a mind in confusion or in doubt about its teachings.

The second largest percentages of students express their dissatisfaction with the religious customs and ceremonies. They find them inadequate for present-day living. The percentages of students with the more intensive training are larger than the others. The students from the three different types of religious schools are equally affected by this spirit of dissatisfaction. Those, who continue these religious practices, carry them on as a matter of habit or because of regard and respect for their parents. These motives cannot produce a moral or religious influence. There is a trend away from the personal concept of God. This personal concept, the practice of Bible study, saying prayers at home and synagogue attendance are closely bound up together. The statistical tables show very clearly that the students with the personal concept have the highest percentages for religious practices. With the weakening of belief came the weakening of practice. Both were undermined by the influences of the environment. The students reached the conclusion that the religious customs were instituted by man, not revealed by God. For this reason and for many other reasons, the religious practices have lost their hold upon the students. They are too occupied with

their studies, their activities, their recreations, to give any time or thought to their religious practices. When they do think of the religious customs, they feel that they do not fit in and are therefore unnecessary. The greatest weakness is that when these religious practices are neglected, as they are, there is nothing to take their place. The functional aspect of religion was not taught to the students. They did not know the purposes or ends that the practices served so that if these purposes could not be carried out in one way they might be fulfilled in another. A constructive or a creative attitude was not developed. There were no ways in which their religious feelings and thoughts could expand and grow. These trends are away from the religious practices but not from Judaism. The students do not deny their Jewish feelings or consciousness. But it has no content, no way in which it can express itself effectively in their secular thoughts and actions. The students with any one of the three different types of religious education express the same negative attitude.

At least one-fourth of the students desired to change the conception of Judaism as a religion of customs and ceremonies to one of morals. The need for the development of an ethical life was emphasized by the students from all three types of religious schools. It is difficult to understand how the religious school with its methods can aid in the moral development of its pupils under the present complex and changing conditions of life. The extra-curricular activities of the religious school may help, such as student government, publishing a school paper or presenting plays. In what way can formal instruction aid in moral development? The presupposition has been maintained that inculcating the moral lessons of the Bible, learning about God's commands and listening to, or participating in, the religious services can develop the moral and religious spirit of children. Experiments have disproved that claim. Knowledge alone of religion and ethics is not sufficient. The students' intellectual difficulties, concerning their religion, indicate that the religious instruction they received did not afford them an appreciative understanding of the history and practices of their people. The methods required today for ethical training are different from those now used in the religious schools. The principles and ideals taught

the pupils in the religious schools come from a civilization in which the conditions were relatively fixed and its applications fairly well known. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to transfer these principles and ideals to the activities of a civilization in which the conditions are changing and the application often a matter of experiment. So many new problems present themselves, so many new situations arise that did not then exist. The solutions of the problems of one age and the moral principles that evolve from them, are not adequate for the solving of the problems of another. The method of approach at present is so different. Moral training is made possible not by external authority but by inner development, not by application of moral law but by creative intelligence. Not the general principle but the particular situation receives full consideration. To have an understanding of the social forces of our day is an indispensable element of moral training. Character Education is developed in connection with life situations. By maintaining the policy of a clear-cut distinction between the religious and the secular, Judaism shuts itself off from the possibility of any intimate knowledge and understanding of the forces and influences of the manifold activities of the present civilization. It is not interested enough in the thoughts and activities of the child. It does not concern itself about his needs or interests nor does it have to provide for them. It is difficult to see how under these conditions, the religious education of this faith or of any other faith with the same point of view, can make any worthwhile contributions to the further development of moral training or character education.

In the B Columns, Duration of Religious Instruction, in Tables XXII–XXX, the differences in percentages between the "More than five years" and the "Less than five years" periods are neither significant nor helpful. They favor both sides of the question. In the God Idea, the "more than five year group" has the larger percentage for the personal concept but it also has the larger percentages for the subjective and the deistic, the new God concepts. The longer period of instruction, it is true, has the larger percentages for the regular or occasional study of the Bible, for the regular or occasional synagogue attendance and

for the regular or occasional practice of praying at home, throughout all educational periods, but it also has the larger percentages for the break away from all these practices. This latter significant fact has been explained on the basis that the more intensive, and, it can be added, the longer the duration of religious education, the larger the percentage of break away from the religious observances. This "more than five year" group, has a larger percentage for "religion deepened or unchanged", but it also has the larger percentage for "conflict of religion and science". This longer duration of religious training may tend to make some students more expert in harmonizing religion and science[1], or, in keeping them apart from each other, which is a principal cause for "religion deepened or unchanged". It also makes a much larger number susceptible to the feeling, growing to a conviction, of the "conflict between religion and science.'"[2] The "more than five year" group has the smallest percentage of those who expressed the desire for more religious instruction.

The Jewish religious schools are a well organized institution. Most of them, if not all, have a paid corps of trained teachers who teach the subjects of a carefully worked out curriculum and are under the direction and guidance of religious leaders. Many of them have professional training. The standards of these religious schools rank as equal, if not superior, to those of the religious schools of other faiths. Changes and improvements of methods have been made and are constantly being made in the system. The system of religious education itself, however, with the objectives and methods used for religious training, is altogether inadequate for the changing conditions today. The religious schools do not take into account the tremendous forces of the environment, the critical and scientific attitude, the secularization of life, the new methods of social and ethical training, which deeply influence the thought and activities of youth and which clash with the beliefs and practices taught in the home and the religious school. The religious schools do not provide the means for reconciling the training of the religious school with the train-

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[1] Table XXIX, Column B, Section 1, The Coefficient of Association .3516.
[2] Table XXIX, Column B, Section 2, The Coefficient of Association .4377.

ing received in the secular schools. The objective of the religious school has been the teaching of the content of Judaism not the development of the personality of the pupil. It has concentrated the attention upon the achievements of the past and has not considered sufficiently the needs, the interests, the problems of the present. The conflicts in the minds of the students and the negative results of religious education have been due to this process of training.

The crux of this study has been the conflict between the beliefs and practices of religion and the forces and influences of the present environment; the conflict between two points of view, religion and science; the conflict between two civilizations, the customs of an agricultural era and the habits and activities of an industrial age; the conflict between the moral standards of two periods, the inadequacy of the moral principles of one for the new and changing conditions and problems of another. One-fifth of the respondents have carried over their religious beliefs and practices into the university. The achieving of these results is due to these students' unwillingness or refusal to question or to criticize these beliefs and practices or to their keeping them separate and apart from the elements of the environment with which they clash or to their constructing two distinct compartments in the mind, one for religion and one for science. This success comes not from facing the issues squarely but rather through a flight or an escape from them. These results give no evidence that these students with "religion deepened or unchanged" have succeeded where the large majority of others have failed, that they have overcome, or adjusted their faith to, these new forces, before which, or in conflict with which, the religious practices of the others have been undermined. The faith of four-fifths of the respondents has been shaken by these conflicts. The greater part of this study has been given to describing them. All the students, regardless of the religious group from which they come, or the kind of religious school in which they were trained, manifest the same reaction to these influences in the environment. The more rigidly observant the background, the more intense the religious instruction and in

most instances the longer duration of time spent at the religious school, the more pronounced are the conflicts.

These forces and influences cannot be avoided or escaped. They are the warp and woof of the environment. They constitute the life and thought of today. The student grows up amid them, becomes familiar with them, makes them the basis of his thinking, an integral part of his habits and activities. From these viewpoints he judges his religious beliefs and practices. He turns from the personal concept of God or develops a new concept, because he insists that the personal concept of God does not square with his experience; he is confused and troubled with doubt, because of the conflict of religion and science; he breaks with the religious observances, because they do not fit in with his present thoughts and activities; he also finds that he can get on without his religion in working out his moral codes, because he feels that the lessons learned in the religious schools are inadequate today for continuous and creative moral development. In his negative attitude he breaks completely with beliefs and rejects observances and with them he loses the wisdom, the moral insight, the religious ideals acquired by the fathers through generations of bitter experience. In his creative attitude, as in the developing of new God concepts, or in the working out a moral code, he is not conscious of any connection or relation between the new ideas and those of his faith. Whether the students' attitude be negative, which is usually the case, or whether it be positive and creative, gone, in the life and thought of the students, are the possibilities of the continuity of the religion as taught to him at home and in the religious school. These findings warrant the conclusion that the results of the present system of religious education are negative.

The attitude of the student towards religion has been severely condemned. It is maintained that his knowledge of Judaism is a blank, that he is incapable of sustained thought, that he does not know what he wants; he has been called indifferent, frivolous, irreligious. I hold no brief for our Jewish student. He has his shortcomings, mentally, morally, religiously. He is the pro-

duct, however, of his secular and religious education. His outlook, his attitude, his make-up, whatever they may be, do not justify the negligence, so long meted out to him, to study his point of view, to provide for his needs and interests. More understanding and less criticism might prove more helpful. Much can be done for him; much can be learned from him.

The Jewish youth of the colleges is not, in the larger sense, irreligious. He is dissatisfied with organized religion and finds it inadequate. It does not meet his present needs; it does not help him to conquer his difficulties nor to solve his problems. He is groping for a conception of God that is an outgrowth of his experience. He is endeavoring to develop a faith that will fit into the modern trend of thought. A large proportion of our youth in the universities is earnest, thoughtful and deeply religious. With the right kind of leadership that understands and sympathizes with the viewpoint of our young men and our young women and that can interpret aright both science and religion so that they function in harmony, not only can our youth be held loyal to his faith, but he can be inspired to direct his energy and enthusiasm for the strengthening, the development, the reconstruction of Judaism.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

What is the Attitude of the Jewish College Student Towards Judaism?

1. College or University.....
2. Major Course or Department at the University.....
3. Underscore year at the University [freshman] [sophomore] [junior] [senior] [graduate]
4. Man [ ] Woman [ ]
4. Age.....
6. Home City or Village.....

A—RELIGIOUS TRAINING

7. Check type of Religious Schooling you received and give the number of years of such instruction—

	Type	No. of Years
Congregational—Sunday	[ ]	[ ]
Congregational—Weekday	[ ]	[ ]
Talmud Torah.....	[ ]	[ ]
Private Instruction.....	[ ]	[ ]
Any Other (please name)		[ ]
Not any	[ ]	

8. What other opportunities for increasing your knowledge of Judaism did you have?
9. How many books of Jewish literature (religious, historical, economic, fiction) have you read in the past three years? (Estimate as nearly as possible.) [ ]
10. Name those that quickly occur to you.

B—JEWISH BACKGROUND

11. To what type of Congregation did your parents belong

Orthodox	[ ]
Conservative	[ ]
Reform	[ ]
Any other (please name)	
None	[ ]

12. Were the religious customs and ceremonies observed in the home
    - Most of them [ ]
    - Some of them [ ]
    - None of them [ ]

13. From your present standpoint do you feel that a sufficient and satisfactory explanation of these practices was given to you? Yes [ ] No [ ]

14. Check the following Jewish organizations to which your parents belonged
    - Relief [ ]
    - Zionist [ ]
    - Lodges [ ]
    - Clubs [ ]
    - None [ ]

15. Check the following types of newspapers and magazines for which your parents subscribed
    - a. English
      - Daily [ ]
      - Magazines [ ]
    - b. Anglo-Jewish [ ]
    - c. Yiddish [ ]

16. List as many papers or periodicals of these types as you can remember.

C—DEVELOPMENT

17. Did You and Do You Read the Bible or Other Jewish Literature (J. L.) (See Question 9)

At public school age	Bible	J. L.	At high school age	Bible	J. L.	At university	Bible	J. L.
Frequently	[ ]	[ ]	Frequently	[ ]	[ ]	Frequently	[ ]	[ ]
Occasionally	[ ]	[ ]	Occasionally	[ ]	[ ]	Occasionally	[ ]	[ ]
Rarely	[ ]	[ ]	Rarely	[ ]	[ ]	Rarely	[ ]	[ ]
Not at all	[ ]	[ ]	Not at all	[ ]	[ ]	Not at all	[ ]	[ ]

18. Did You and Do You Attend Religious Services

At Public School Age		At High School Age		At University	
Frequently	[ ]	Frequently	[ ]	Frequently	[ ]
Occasionally	[ ]	Occasionally	[ ]	Occasionally	[ ]
Rarely	[ ]	Rarely	[ ]	Rarely	[ ]
Not at all	[ ]	Not at all	[ ]	Not at all	[ ]

19. Did You and Do You Recite Prayers at Home

At Public School Age		At High School Age		At University	
Frequently	[ ]	Frequently	[ ]	Frequently	[ ]
Occasionally	[ ]	Occasionally	[ ]	Occasionally	[ ]
Rarely	[ ]	Rarely	[ ]	Rarely	[ ]
Not at all	[ ]	Not at all	[ ]	Not at all	[

20. Which of the Following Elements Did You and Do You Now Consider Most Essential for a Jewish Life and Which of Second, Third and Fourth Importance. (Check Order of Importance—1, 2, 3, 4)

At Public School Age	At High School Age	At University
Organized Religion [ ]	Organized Religion [ ]	Organized Religion [ ]
(Services and customs)	(Services and customs)	(Services and customs)
Moral Elements [ ]	Moral Elements [ ]	Moral Elements [ ]
Social Service [ ]	Social Service [ ]	Social Service [ ]
Philosophy [ ]	Philosophy [ ]	Philosophy [ ]

21. What Is Your Idea of God? If There Has Been a Change State Your Earlier View.

(Use other side of sheet if necessary)

D—JEWISH ENVIRONMENT AT UNIVERSITY

22. Affiliations—Are you affiliated with the following organizations:
    a. What Fraternity What Sorority
    b. Menorah [ ]
    c. Avukah [ ]
    d. Jewish Students' House [ ]
    e. What other organizations of Jewish activities?

23. Community Activities
    a. What are the social and religious activities that the community in which the University is located arranges and carries on in behalf of the Jewish Students?
    b. Of which have you availed yourself?

24. General
    a. While at the University have you taught in a religious school? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    b. If away from home have you boarded with a Jewish family? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    c. If meals could be provided according to the Dietary Laws, would you attempt to observe them? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    d. Check the following types of newspapers and magazines that you read
        a. English
            Daily [ ]
            Magazines [ ]
        b. Anglo-Jewish [ ]
        c. Yiddish [ ]
    e. List as many of these papers and periodicals as you remember.

25. With what other Jewish Environment have you come in contact at the University?

E—CHANGES

26. Write a brief account of the changes through which your thought, feeling and attitude towards Judaism have passed, indicating, if possible—
    a. THE NATURE OF THE CHANGE, such as for example, (1) a deepening or reconstruction of your religious faith, (2) confusion, (3) disbelief, (4) doubt, (5) indifference.
    b. THE CAUSES OF THE CHANGE, such as for example, (1) desire for change, (2) increase in knowledge, (3) conflict between science and religion, (4) lack of home or organized religious influence, (5) uncongenial associations with religious leaders or activities, (6) belief in insincerity of organized religious activities, (7) fear of the loss of social prestige, (8) atmosphere of general indifference to religion on the campus, (9) too much time necessary for studies, (10) too many other activities, (11) desire for relaxation and pleasure.

(YOU CAN USE OR IGNORE THE ABOVE SUGGESTIONS.)

(Use other side of sheet if necessary)

F—PROBLEMS

27. a. What are the Jewish problems that you discuss with your friends, companions or teachers, at leisure moments, at gatherings or at organized meetings?
    b. What, if any, are the general conclusions?
28. a. In your social life or in the classroom have you felt the desire or discussed with yourself or your friends the need of openly stating or emphasizing your Jewishness? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    b. Of concealing the fact that you are a Jew? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    c. Explain.

G—NEEDS

29. Do you feel the need
    a. Of an agency or paid director on the campus to provide courses in Jewish cultural work, like the Menorah? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    b. Of an agency or paid director to arrange for religious services and social activities for the Jewish students, like the Hillel Foundation? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    c. Of a religious leader from whom you might seek help for your religious problems and difficulties? Yes [ ] No [ ]
    d. What other needs can you mention?

APPENDIX B

FIFTY-SEVEN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES ARRANGED IN EIGHT DISTRICTS FROM WHICH THE 1501 REPLIES TO QUESTIONNAIRES WERE RECEIVED

	TOTAL	
1. CANADA		
McGill	35	
British Columbia	5	
		40
2. NEW YORK CITY		
Adelphia	8	
Barnard	10	
City College of New York (C. C. N. Y.)	43	
Columbia	53	
Hunter	15	
New York University	58	
Miscellaneous	12	
		199
3. NEW ENGLAND STATES		
Boston	12	
Brown	9	
Clark	10	
Harvard	37	
Radcliffe	13	
Simmons	6	
Smith	23	
Tufts	12	
		122
4. PHILADELPHIA		
University of Pennsylvania	157	
Temple University	47	
		204
5. EAST		
Bryn Mawr	8	
Carnegie	13	
Cornell	30	
Dickinson	6	
Goucher	32	
Johns Hopkins	24	
New Jersey Law	9	

University of Pittsburgh	14	
Syracuse	36	
Vassar	18	
Union College	16	
New York State	9	
		215

6. SOUTH

Virginia	28	
Alabama	20	
Georgia	22	
Louisiana	11	
Newcombe	11	
Texas	21	
Tulane	7	
Vanderbilt	24	
		144

7. MIDDLE WEST

University of Chicago	53	
University of Cincinnati	34	
Illinois	43	
Marquette	38	
Michigan	44	
Minnesota	15	
Northwestern	9	
Ohio Northern	17	
Ohio State	43	
University of Wisconsin	78	
		374

8. FAR WEST

Arizona	17	
University of California	28	
University of Southern California	27	
Denver	11	
Nebraska	29	
Missouri	22	
Washington—St. Louis	36	
Washington—Seattle	30	
		200
Miscellaneous		3
		1501

APPENDIX C

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APPENDIX D

TABLE I

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 STUDENTS OF THE DIFFERENT SEXES

SECTION	SEX	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Men	1064	71
2	Women	437	29

General Table

TABLE II

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION

SECTION	SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION	MEN STUDENTS		WOMEN STUDENTS		ALL STUDENTS	
		NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1	Orthodox	513	48	145	33	658	44
2	Conservative	147	14	70	16	217	14
3	Reform	336	31	184	42	520	35
4	Non-affiliation	68	7	38	9	106	7
		1064	100	437	100	1501	100

General Table

TABLE III

CLASS AT THE UNIVERSITY

PERCENTAGES OF 1456 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THEIR CLASS AT THE UNIVERSITY

SECTION	CLASS	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1	Freshman	08.5	15	15	17	15
2	Sophomore	14.5	18	15	20	18
3	Junior	38	33	32	31	33
4	Senior	34	26	32	26	28
5	Graduate	04.5	08	06	05	06
6	Unknown	03	03	03	03	03

General Table

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGES OF 1474 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION LIVING, WHILE AT THE UNIVERSITY, IN THEIR HOME CITY OR TOWN OR AWAY FROM HOME

SECTION		CHANGE OR NO CHANGE OF RESIDENCE WHILE AT THE UNIVERSITY	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			ALL STUDENTS
				ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	
	1.....	At home in cities.....	38	35	35	25	32
	2.....	At home in towns.....	0	01	0	0	01
	3.....	From city to city.....	14	22	24	31	25
	4.....	From town to city.....	22	17	20	15	17
	5.....	From city to town.....	17	14	15	18	15
SECTIONS	6.....	From town to town.....	09	11	07	11	10
(3 + 5).....	7.....	Leaving cities.....	31	35	41	49	40
(4 + 6).....	8.....	Leaving towns.....	31	29	24	26	40
(1+3+4)...	9.....	Studying in cities.....	74	74	78	70	74
(2+5+6)...	10.....	Studying in towns.....	26	26	22	30	26
	11.....	Unknown.....	—	02	02	—	01.5

General Table

TABLE V

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF 1314 STUDENTS WITH THEIR ATTENDANCE AT ONE OR MORE OF THE THREE TYPES OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

SECTION	THREE TYPES OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS	ATTENDING ONE SCHOOL		ATTENDING MORE THAN ONE SCHOOL		ALL STUDENTS	
		NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1.....	Sunday School	522	40	180	14	702	54
2.....	Talmud Torah	148	11	124	10	272	21
3.....	Private Instruction	228	17	111	8	339	25

General Table

TABLE VI

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF 1314 STUDENTS WITH DIFFERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION HAVING DIFFERENT DURATIONS OF ATTENDANCE AT THESE SCHOOLS

SECTION	RELIGIOUS SCHOOL	DURATION OF ATTENDANCE: UNDER FIVE YEARS		DURATION OF ATTENDANCE: OVER FIVE YEARS		ALL STUDENTS	
		NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
1.....	Sunday School	227	14	415	32	702	46
2.....	Talmud Torah	140	9	128	9	268	18
3.....	Private Instruction	180	12	164	11	344	23

General Table

TABLE VII

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

PERCENTAGES OF 1501 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION AND NON-AFFILIATION AND WITH THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND NO INSTRUCTION

SECTION	TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION: ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	Sunday School	20	22	45	84	46.6
2.....	Talmud Torah	11	32	18	01	18
3.....	Private Instruction	14	37	27	04	22.7
4.....	No Instruction	55	9	10	10	13

1314 or 87% of the students received religious instruction at one of the three types of religious schools.

187 or 13% of the students received no religious instruction.

General Table

TABLE VIII

Books of Jewish Interest Read

Percentages of 1021 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Number of Books of Jewish Interest Read During the Period of Three Years Preceding the Time of Answering the Question

Section	Number of books read	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	1–3 books	40	28	32	38	33
2.....	3–6 books	07	16	16	17	16
3.....	6–15 books	08	15	16	07	12
4.....	15 books and over	08	11	06	05	08
5.....	Unknown	38	31	31	34	32

General Table

TABLE IX

Customs Observed

Percentages of 1486 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Extent of Religious Customs Observed at Home

Section	Extent of religious customs observed in the home	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1....	Homes in which most of the customs are observed	03	77	40	09	43
2....	Homes in which some of the customs are observed	41	22	56	63	43
3....	Homes in which none of the customs are observed	55	01	04	27	14
4....	Unknown	03	01	01	01	01

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE X

Explanation of Customs

Percentages of 1398 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with Answers Regarding Explanation of Customs Observed

Section	Satisfactory explanation of customs	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Was given	74	64	65	74	70
2.....	Was not given	27	36	35	26	30
3.....	Unknown	16	04	07	09	07

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XII

Bible Reading

Percentages of 1351 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation, Having Specified Practices of Bible Study or Reading at Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, continuance or change in practice	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Continued Bible study or reading throughout grammar school, high school and university					
a.....	Regular study or reading.....	02	07	04	02	04
b.....	Occasional study or reading.....	07	12	16	18	14
c.....	Total of regular and occasional study or reading.....	09	19	20	20	18
2.....	Break in practice of Bible study or reading					
a.....	At high school.....	07	30	20	11	20
b.....	At university.....	26	27	28	29	27
c.....	Total of break in practice of Bible study or reading.....	33	57	48	40	47
3.....	No Bible study or reading					
a.....	At any period at all.....	19	04	06	09	07
b.....	At university.....	18	13	11	17	14
c.....	Total of no Bible study or reading at university.....	37	17	17	26	21
4.....	Increase in practice of Bible study or reading					
a.....	At high school.....	11	07	11	11	09
b.....	At university.....	27	16	17	21	19
c.....	Total increase of Bible study or reading at university.....	38	23	28	32	28
5.....	Unknown.....	08	10	09	11	10

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XIII

Synagogue Attendance

Percentages of 1456 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation, Having Specified Practices of Synagogue Attendance at Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, continuance or change in practice	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Continued practice of synagogue attendance throughout grammar school, high school and university					
a.....	Regular attendance.....	—	13	06	11	11
b.....	Occasional attendance.....	07	12	12	09	10
c.....	Total of regular and occasional synagogue attendance.....	07	25	18	20	21
2.....	Break in synagogue attendance					
a.....	At high school.....	24	27	32	19	25
b.....	At university.....	11	35	34	44	36
c.....	Total of break in synagogue attendance at high school and university.....	35	62	66	63	61
3.....	No synagogue attendance at all					
a.....	At any period.....	37	02	02	02	04
b.....	At university.....	22	09	10	09	11
c.....	Total of no synagogue attendance at all at university.....	59	11	12	11	15
4.....	Increase in synagogue attendance					
a.....	At high school.....	04	03	05	07	04
b.....	At university.....	19	09	10	08	10
c.....	Total increase in synagogue attendance.....	23	12	15	15	14
5.....	Unknown.....	04	02	03	03	03

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XIV

RECITING PRAYERS AT HOME

PERCENTAGES OF 1426 STUDENTS WITH KNOWN SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION OR NON-AFFILIATION, HAVING SPECIFIED PRACTICES OF RECITING PRAYERS AT HOME THROUGHOUT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

SECTION	EXISTENCE, CONTINUANCE OR CHANGE IN PRACTICE	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			ALL STUDENTS
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	
1.....	Continued practice of reciting prayers at home throughout grammar school, high school and university					
a.....	Regular practice of praying.....	04	16	10	20	15
b.....	Occasional practice of praying.....	01	06	09	10	07
c.....	Total of regular and occasional practice of praying.....	05	22	19	30	22
2.....	Break in practice of praying					
a.....	At high school.....	12	27	25	21	23
b.....	At university.....	07	30	17	17	22
c.....	Total of break in practice of praying at high school and university.....	19	57	42	38	45
3.....	No practice of praying at all					
a.....	At any period.....	74	16	32	30	27
b.....	At university.....	12	21	19	15	18
c.....	Total of no practice at all of reciting prayer at university.....	86	37	51	45	45
4.....	Increase in practice of praying					
a.....	At high school.....	02	02	03	02	02
b.....	At university.....	01	03	04	02	02
c.....	Total increase in practice at high school and university.....	30	05	07	04	04
5.....	Unknown.....	04	03	05	05	05

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XV

Idea of God

Percentages of 1241 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation or Non-affiliation and with Concepts of God in which they Believe

SECTION	DIFFERENT CONCEPTS OF GOD	STUDENTS WITH NO AFFILIATION	STUDENTS WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION			ALL STUDENTS
			ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	
1.....	Traditional or Personal concepts of God.....	15	39	33	32	33
2.....	Impersonal concepts of God					
a.....	Subjective.....	16	15	16	21	17
b.....	Deistic or Force in Nature.....	30	22	23	21	22
c.....	Skeptical.....	14	14	13	14	14
d.....	Agnostic.....	13	06	07	07	06.6
e.....	Total percentages of Impersonal concepts of God.....	73	57	59	63	60
3.....	Atheistic.....	12	05	08	05	06
4.....	Unknown.....	19	22	26	26	24

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XVI

Nature of Change

Percentages of 1169 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation or Non-affiliation and with the Nature of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Nature of change of attitude towards Judaism	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1	Religion deepened or unchanged at university	17	23	17	25	22
2	Doubt, confusion, indifference	50	61	60	61	60
3	Disbelief in or rejection of Judaism as to customs, ceremonies or beliefs	37	32	26	22	28
4	Change of conception of Judaism as a religion of customs and beliefs to that of civilization, race, nationality, morality or personal religion	37	23	28	21	24
5	Unknown	12	22	19	24	22

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XVII

Causes of Change

Percentages of 1111 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation or Non-affiliation and with the Causes of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism

Section	Causes of the change of attitude toward Judaism	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Influences of home and contacts with Jews and non-Jews helping or hindering the development of religious thought or practice.....	53	50	40	47	47
2.....	Intellectual reasons such as increase of knowledge, religious or secular, conflict or harmonizing of religion and science, thinking out problems for oneself, etc.....	72	72	73	69	72
3.....	Dissatisfaction with forms of religion.....	53	40	48	33	40
4.....	University activities that cause indifference..	15	23	24	26	24
5.....	Unknown.....	18	25	26	30	26

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XVIII

Influences of Home, Etc.

Percentages of 520 Students with Known Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Influences Helping and Hindering the Development of Religious Beliefs and Practices

Section	Influences and contacts with Jew and non-Jew which help and hinder the development of religious thought	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Helpful influences.....	08	15	09	10	11
2.....	Upsetting and disturbing influences.....	23	16	20	18	17
3.....	Belief in insincerity of religious leaders and activities.....	17	16	10	16	15
4.....	Active work in social service, etc.....	01	02	03	05	04

These are the four separate influences of home and of contacts helping or hindering the development of religious thought and practice into which Section 1 of Table XVI is divided.

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XIX

Intellectual Causes

Percentages of 790 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Intellectual Causes of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Intellectual causes of change of attitude	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Increase of religious knowledge or harmonizing of religion and science.....	09	15	14	10	13
2.....	Increase of secular knowledge or conflict of religion and science.....	73	92	89	86	88
3.....	Beliefs and customs accepted blindly or as matter of course or especially because of lack of religious knowledge.....	25	11	10	06	10
4.....	Desire for more religious information.....	05	06	09	05	06

These are the four separate intellectual causes into which Section 2 of Table XVII is divided.

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XX

Questions Discussed by Students

Percentages of 1171 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with the Various Religious and Social Questions Discussed at the University

Section	Various religious and social questions discussed at the university	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	Religious questions—Beliefs, customs, etc...	50	46	56	63	53
2.....	Social questions — Attitude and relation of Jew to Jew, of Jew to Christian and Christian to Jew, Intermarriage.....	51	49	41	40	45
3.....	Trends in Judaism—Adjustment of Jew to Judaism and to environment, survival, assimilation, Zionism, etc.....	47	48	37	29	39
4.....	Jewish students at university—Social, intellectual and religious questions.....	17	14	18	20	17
5.....	Unknown.....	22	20	21	23	22

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XXI

Jewish Consciousness

Percentages of 941 Students with Known Synagogue Affiliation and Non-affiliation and with Answers to the Question Whether They Reveal or Conceal Their Identity as Jews in the Classroom or on the Campus

Section	Attitude of revealing or concealing identity as Jews	Students with no affiliation	Students with synagogue affiliation			All students
			Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	
1.....	The desire to express the fact openly.....	23	38	32	31	34
2.....	No need of over-emphasizing the fact, willingness to reveal it, if occasion demands...	66	48	57	56	53
3.....	The fear that prejudice can easily be aroused on the campus.....	01	08	04	08	07
4.....	A denial of identity under certain circumstances.....	10	06	06	06	06

Series A. Synagogue Affiliation

TABLE XXIV

BIBLE READING

PERCENTAGES OF 1351 STUDENTS WITH (A) DIFFERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION (INCLUDING NO INSTRUCTION) AND WITH (B) SPECIFIED DURATIONS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SPECIFIED PRACTICES OF BIBLE STUDY OR READING

SECTION	EXISTENCE, CONTINUANCE OR CHANGE IN PRACTICE	A TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION					B DURATION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION			
		NO INSTRUCTION	SUNDAY SCHOOL	TALMUD TORAH	PRIVATE INSTRUCTION	ALL STUDENTS	NO INSTRUCTION	LESS THAN 5 YEARS	MORE THAN 5 YEARS	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	Continued study or reading throughout grammar school, high school and university									
a....	Regular study or reading.....	02	02	10	6	04	02	02	06	04
b....	Occasional study or reading....	13	16	9	12	14	13	14	14	14
c....	Total of regular and occasional study or reading.....	15	18	19	18	18	15	16	20	18
2.....	Break in practice of Bible study or reading									
a....	At high school.....	07	16	30	28	20	07	20	23	20
b....	At university.....	25	30	30	22	28	25	26	29	28
c....	Total of break in practice of Bible study or reading.....	32	46	60	50	48	32	46	52	48
3.....	No Bible study or reading									
a....	At any period at all.....	17	06	03	04	06	17	05	04	06
b....	At university.....	17	15	19	16	16	17	18	15	16
c....	Total of no Bible study or reading at university.....	34	21	22	20	22	34	23	19	22
4.....	Increase in practice of Bible study or reading									
a....	At high school.....	10	11	05	08	09	17	10	07	09
b....	At university.....	24	20	13	19	19	17	22	15	19
c....	Total increase of Bible study or reading at university.....	34	31	18	27	28	34	32	22	28
5.....	Unknown.....	11	12	10	9	10				

TABLE XXIII

Synagogue Attendance

Percentages of 1456 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to Specified Practices of Synagogue Attendance at Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, continuance or change in practice	A: Types of religious instruction					B: Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Continued practice of synagogue attendance throughout grammar school, high school and university									
a....	Regular attendance.....	04	10	16	10	11	04	06	16	11
b....	Occasional attendance.....	13	10	10	13	11	13	15	7	11
c....	Total of regular and occasional synagogue attendance.....	17	20	26	23	22	17	21	23	22
2.....	Break in synagogue attendance									
a....	At high school.....	13	23	31	28	24	13	27	25	24
b....	At university.....	22	40	32	32	36	22	31	38	36
c....	Total of break in synagogue attendance at high school and university.....	35	63	63	60	60	35	58	63	60
3.....	No synagogue attendance at all									
a....	At any period.....	19	02	03	04	05	19	04	01	05
b....	At university.....	21	10	12	12	11	21	15	08	11
c....	Total of no synagogue attendance at all at university.....	40	12	15	16	16	40	19	09	16
4.....	Increase in synagogue attendance									
a....	At high school.....	04	05	02	04	04	04	05	02	04
b....	At university.....	20	09	07	11	10	20	11	07	10
c....	Total of increase in synagogue attendance.....	24	14	09	15	14	24	16	09	14

TABLE XXIV

RECITING PRAYERS AT HOME

PERCENTAGES OF 1426 STUDENTS WITH (A) DIFFERENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION (INCLUDING NO INSTRUCTION) AND WITH (B) SPECIFIED DURATIONS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SPECIFIED PRACTICES OF RECITING PRAYERS AT HOME, AT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, HIGH SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY

SECTION	EXISTENCE, CONTINUANCE OR CHANGE IN PRACTICE	A TYPES OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION					B DURATION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION			
		NO INSTRUCTION	SUNDAY SCHOOL	TALMUD TORAH	PRIVATE INSTRUCTION	ALL STUDENTS	NO INSTRUCTION	LESS THAN 5 YEARS	MORE THAN 5 YEARS	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	Continued practice of reciting prayers throughout grammar school, high school and university									
a....	Regular practice of praying....	12	18	16	11	15	12	11	19	15
b....	Occasional practice of praying..	04	11	05	04	07	04	8	5	7
c....	Total of regular and occasional practice of praying.....	16	29	21	15	22	16	19	24	22
2.....	Break in practice of praying									
a....	At high school.....	12	24	28	27	24	12	25	27	24
b....	At university.....	12	19	31	28	22	12	21	29	22
c....	Total of break in practice of praying at high school and university.....	24	43	59	55	46	24	46	56	46
3.....	No practice of praying at all									
a....	At any period.....	57	26	16	24	27	57	30	14	27
b....	At university.....	11	17	23	25	19	11	23	20	19
c....	Total of no practice at all at university.....	68	43	39	49	46	68	53	34	46
4.....	Increase in practice of praying									
a....	At high school.....	01	03	02	03	02	01	03	02	02
b....	At university.....	02	02	02	03	03	02	02	03	03
c....	Total increase in practice at high school and university...	03	05	04	06	05	03	05	05	05
5.....	Unknown.....	03	04	04	05	04				

TABLE XXV

Idea of God

Percentages of 1141 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Concepts of God in Which They Believe

Section	Different Concepts of God	A Types of Religious Instruction: No Instruction	Sunday School	Talmud Torah	Private Instruction	All Students	B Duration of Religious Instruction: No Instruction	Less than 5 Years	More than 5 Years	All Students
1.....	Traditional or Personal concept of God.....	23	33	36	38	33	23	34	37	33
2.....	Impersonal concepts of God									
a....	Subjective.....	18	17	16	16	17	18	15	18	17
b....	Deistic or Force in Nature.....	25	20	24	24	22	25	22	24	22
c....	Skeptical.....	14	18	11	10	14	14	15	11	14
d....	Agnostic.....	11	06	06	08	06.6	11	06	06	06.6
e....	Total percentage of Impersonal concepts of God.....	68	61	57	58	60	68	58	59	60
3.....	Atheistic.....	10	07	08	05	06	10	08	05	06
4.....	Unknown.....	20	25	22	23	24	20	23	23	24

TABLE XXVI

Nature of Change

Percentages of 1171 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Nature of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Nature of change of attitude towards Judaism	A Types of religious instruction: No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	B Duration of religious instruction: No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Religion deepened or unchanged at university.....	22	22	24	20	22	22	20	23	22
2.....	Doubt, confusion, indifference..	52	60	60	64	58	52	62	58	58
3.....	Disbelief in or rejection of Judaism as to customs, ceremonies or beliefs.....	26	24	32	30	27	26	26	27	27
4.....	Change of conception from religion to civilization, race, nationality, morality or personal religion.....	26	22	24	25	24	26	23	23	24
5.....	Unknown.....	20	23	23	21	22				

XXVII

Causes of Change

Percentages of 1101 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Causes of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Causes of change of attitude towards Judaism	A Types of religious instruction				B Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Influences of home and contacts with Jews and non-Jews helping or hindering the development of religious thought or practice.....	46	51	43	48	48	46	48	46	48
2.....	Intellectual reasons as increase of knowledge, religious or secular, conflict or harmonizing of religion and science, thinking out problems for oneself, etc.....	72	66	77	74	71	72	71	73	71
3.....	Dissatisfaction with forms of religion.....	39	37	42	41	39	39	40	39	39
4.....	University activities that cause indifference.....	21	25	27	22	24	21	25	24	24
5.....	Unknown.....	26	27	32	27	27				

TABLE XXVIII

Influences of Home, Etc.

Percentages of 520 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Influences Helping and Hindering the Development of Religious Beliefs and Practices

Section	Influences and contacts with Jew and non-Jew which help and hinder the development of religious thought	A Types of religious instruction					B Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Helpful influences.....	08	11	15	15	11	08	12	15	11
2.....	Upsetting and disturbing influences.....	20	21	10	15	17	20	17	14	17
3.....	Belief in insincerity of religious leaders and activities.....	16	16	15	13	15	16	15	14	15
4.....	Active work in social service, etc.....	02	03	05	03	04	02	04	03	04

These are the four separate influences of home and of contacts helping or hindering the development of religious thought and practice into which Section 1 of Table XXVII is divided.

TABLE XXIX

Intellectual Causes

Percentages of 790 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Intellectual Reasons for Causes of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Intellectual causes of change of attitude	A Types of religious instruction					B Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Increase of religious knowledge or harmonizing of religion and science.....	05	12	16	16	13	05	10	17	13
2.....	Increase of secular knowledge or conflict of religion and science.....	75	88	90	88	88	75	85	93	88
3.....	Beliefs and customs accepted blindly, or as matter of course, or especially because of lack of religious knowledge.	24	09	10	11	10	24	11	09	10
4.....	Desire for more religious information.....	10	06	09	07	06	10	9	6	06

These are the four separate intellectual causes into which Section 2 of Table XXVII is divided.

TABLE XXX

Questions Discussed by Students

Percentages of 1171 Students with (A) Different Types of Religious Instruction (Including No Instruction) and with (B) Specified Durations of Religious Instruction, Classified According to the Various Religious and Social Questions Discussed at the University

Section	Various religious and social questions discussed at the university	A — Types of religious instruction					B — Duration of religious instruction			
		No instruction	Sunday school	Talmud Torah	Private instruction	All students	No instruction	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	All students
1.....	Religious questions — Beliefs customs, etc.....	57	59	47	46	53	57	52	48	53
2.....	Social questions—Attitude and relation of Jew to Jew, of Jew to Christian, Christian to Jew, Intermarriage.....	43	43	52	49	45	43	49	50	45
3.....	Trends of Judaism — Adjustment of Jew to Judaism, and to environment, survival, assimilation, Zionism, etc.....	40	34	53	49	30	40	44	46	30
4.....	Jewish students at university—Social, intellectual and religious questions.....	17	19	15	10	17	17	15	16	17
5.....	Unknown.....	27	22	22	22	22				

TABLE XXXI

Books of Jewish Interest Read

Percentages of 1021 Students with Different God Concepts and with the Number of Books of Jewish Interest Read During the Period of Three Years Preceding the Time of Answering this Question

SECTION	NUMBER OF BOOKS READ	1–4 PERSONAL	5–6 SUBJECTIVE	7–9 FORCE IN NATURE	12–14 SKEPTICAL	10 AGNOSTIC	11 ATHEISTIC	15–16 UNKNOWN	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	1–3 books.....	50	42	40	49	50	50	52	48
2.....	3–6 books.....	20	27	23	17	15	33	24	23
3.....	6–15 books.....	17	19	20	23	11	12	17	17
4.....	15 books and over.....	13	12	15	9	24	6	6	12
5.....	Unknown.....	30	32	28	31	39	29	37	32

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TABLE XXXII

Books of Jewish Interest Read

Percentages of 1501 Students with Different God Concepts and with the Number of Books of Jewish Interest Read During the Period of Three Years Preceding the Time of Answering this Question. (This is the Total Number of Students Including the Unknown)

SECTION	NUMBER OF BOOKS READ	1–4 PERSONAL	5–6 SUBJECTIVE	7–9 FORCE IN NATURE	12–14 SKEPTICAL	10 AGNOSTIC	11 ATHEISTIC	15–16 UNKNOWN	ALL STUDENTS
1.....	1–3 books.....	36	30	30	34	31	36	33	33
2.....	3–6 books.....	14	19	17	12	09	23	15	16
3.....	6–15 books.....	12	12	14	16	07	09	11	13
4.....	15 books and over.....	08	08	11	07	14	04	05	07
5.....	Unknown.....	30	32	28	31	39	29	37	32

TABLE XXXIII

Customs Observed

Percentages of 1486 Students with Different God Concepts and with the Extent of the Religious Customs Observed in their Homes

SECTION	EXTENT OF RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE HOME	GOD CONCEPTS							ALL STUDENTS
		1–4 PERSONAL	5–6 SUBJECTIVE	7–9 FORCE IN NATURE	12–14 SKEPTICAL	10 AGNOSTIC	11 ATHEISTIC	15–16 UNKNOWN	
1.....	Homes in which most of the customs are observed.....	51	43	45	39	30	26	43	43
2.....	Homes in which some of the customs are observed.....	41	43	41	48	40	34	43	43
3.....	Homes in which none of the customs are observed.....	8	14	14	13	30	40	14	14
4.....	Unknown.....	03	01	01	01	02	—	01	01

TABLE XXXIV

Explanation for Customs

Percentages of 1400 Students with Various God Concepts and with Answers Regarding Explanation of Customs Observed

Section	Satisfactory explanation of customs	God concepts: 1–4 Personal	5–6 Subjective	7–9 Force in nature	12–14 Skeptical	10 Agnostic	11 Atheistic	15–16 Unknown	All students
1.....	Was given.....	70	70	66	67	59	70	72	70
2.....	Was not given.....	30	30	34	32	42	30	28	30
3.....	Unknown.....	07	06	07	06	10	07	07	07

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TABLE XXXV

Bible Reading

Percentages of 1351 Students with Different God Concepts Having Specified Practice of Bible Study or Reading at Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, continuance or change in practice	God concepts							All students
		Personal	Subjective	Force in nature	Skeptical	Agnostic	Atheistic	Unknown	
1.....	Continued study or reading of Bible throughout grammar school, high school and university								
a....	Regular study or reading.....	06	05	03	01	04	02	04	04
b....	Occasional study or reading.....	16	12	12	16	10	11	15	14
c....	Total of regular and occasional study or reading.....	22	17	15	17	14	13	19	18
2.....	Break in practice of Bible study or reading								
a....	At high school.....	21	20	19	21	17	18	21	20
b....	At university.....	31	29	22	28	31	23	25	27
c....	Total of break in practice of Bible study or reading.....	52	49	41	49	48	41	46	47
3.....	No Bible study or reading								
a....	At any period at all.....	04	06	07	07	06	08	11	07
b....	At university.....	14	13	14	12	18	15	17	15
c....	Total of no Bible study or reading at university.....	18	19	21	19	24	23	28	22
4.....	Increase in practice of Bible study or reading								
a....	At high school.....	09	08	09	09	14	11	09	08
b....	At university.....	13	19	27	18	19	27	14	19
c....	Total increase of Bible study or reading at university.....	22	27	36	27	33	38	23	27
5.....	Unknown.....	10	07	10	05	07	11	16	10

TABLE XXXVI

Synagogue Attendance

Percentages of 1456 Students with Different God Concepts Having Specified Practices of Synagogue Attendance at Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, continuance or change in practice	God concepts: Personal	Subjective	Force in nature	Skeptical	Agnostic	Atheistic	Unknown	All students
1.....	Continued practice of synagogue attendance throughout grammar school, high school and university								
a....	Regular attendance	15	10	10	05	04	04	12	11
b....	Occasional attendance	15	06	10	11	08	07	11	11
c....	Total regular and occasional synagogue attendance	30	16	20	16	12	11	23	22
2.....	Break in synagogue attendance								
a....	At high school	18	24	27	25	37	39	24	25
b....	At university	35	36	36	38	22	25	36	35
c....	Total of break in synagogue attendance at high school and university	53	60	63	63	59	64	60	60
3.....	No synagogue attendance at all								
a....	At any period	01	03	05	04	14	14	03	04
b....	At university	07	08	13	12	15	11	12	09
c....	Total of no synagogue attendance at all at university	08	11	18	16	29	25	15	13
4.....	Increase in synagogue attendance								
a....	At high school	04	07	02	03	04	01	04	04
b....	At university	11	14	11	13	12	11	08	11
c....	Total of increase in synagogue attendance	15	21	13	16	16	12	12	15
5.....	Unknown	03	02	02	01	01	03	05	03

TABLE XXXVII

Reciting Prayers at Home

Percentages of 1426 Students with Different God Concepts Having Specified Practices of Reciting Prayers at Home at Grammar School, High School and University

Section	Existence, Continuance or Change in Practice	God Concepts							All Students
		Personal	Subjective	Force in Nature	Skeptical	Agnostic	Atheistic	Unknown	
1.....	Continued practice of reciting prayers at home throughout grammar school, high school and university								
a....	Regular practice of praying.....	27	15	12	10	05	01	15	15
b....	Occasional practice of praying.....	09	06	06	05	01	01	10	07
c....	Total of regular and occasional practice of praying.....	36	21	18	15	06	02	25	22
2.....									
a....	Break in practice of praying								
b....	At high school.....	19	24	26	27	24	29	23	24
c....	At university.....	22	25	23	23	18	19	21	22
	Total of break in practice of praying at high school and university.....	41	49	49	50	42	48	44	46
3.....	No practice of praying at all								
a....	At any period.....	15	27	29	32	46	44	27	27
b....	At university.....	09	16	21	11	25	13	16	18
c....	No practice at all at university.....	24	43	50	43	71	57	43	45
4.....	Increase in practice of praying								
a....	At high school.....	04	01	01	01	04	01	03	02
b....	At university.....	04	03	04	03	01	03	01	03
c....	Total increase in practice at high school and university.....	08	04	05	04	05	04	04	05
5.....	Unknown.....	03	03	03	05	01	04	07	05

TABLE XXXVIII

Nature of Change

Percentages of 1169 Students with Different God Concepts and with the Nature of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

SECTION	NATURE OF CHANGE OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS JUDAISM	GOD CONCEPTS							ALL STUDENTS
		PERSONAL	SUBJECTIVE	FORCE IN NATURE	SKEPTICAL	AGNOSTIC	ATHEISTIC	UNKNOWN	
1.....	Religion deepened or unchanged at university.....	38	18	16	16	07	07	27	23
2.....	Doubt, confusion and indifference.....	50	63	61	68	69	64	60	60
3.....	Disbelief in or rejection of Judaism as customs, ceremonies or beliefs.....	18	27	33	29	61	47	16	28
4.....	Change of conception from religion to civilization, race, nationality, morality or personal religion.....	16	32	31	24	31	28	11	23
5.....	Unknown.....	19	17	08	14	07	09	50	22

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TABLE XXXIX

Causes of Change

Percentages of 1111 Students with Different God Concepts and with the Causes of Change of Attitude Towards Judaism While at the University

Section	Causes of change of attitude towards Judaism	God concepts							All students
		Personal	Subjective	Force in nature	Skeptical	Agnostic	Atheistic	Unknown	
1.....	Influence of home and contacts helping and hindering religious thought or practice.....	53	45	45	48	41	34	41	47
2.....	Intellectual reasons as increase of knowledge, religious or secular, conflict or harmonizing of religion and science....	67	72	74	60	81	75	68	71
3.....	Dissatisfaction with forms of religion.....	29	44	47	31	56	57	24	39
4.....	University activities that cause indifference.....	28	23	21	22	23	14	12	24
5.....	Unknown.....	25	19	10	20	06	11	58	27

TABLE XL

Influences of Home, Etc.

Percentages of 520 Students with Different God Concepts and with the Influences Helping and Hindering the Development of Religious Beliefs and Practices

Section	Influences and contacts with Jew and non-Jew which help and hinder the development of religious thought	God concepts							Students
		Personal	Subjective	Force in nature	Skeptical	Agnostic	Atheistic	Unknown	
1.....	Helpful influences.....	21	07	12	10	04	02	12	11
2.....	Upsetting and disturbing influences.....	17	20	18	24	14	12	13	17
3.....	Beliefs in insincerity of religious leaders and activities.....	12	11	15	20	18	20	16	15
4.....	Active work in social service, etc.....	03	08	03	04	03	—	02	04

These are the four separate influences of home and of contacts helping or hindering the development of religious thought and practice into which Section 1 of Table XXXIX is divided.

TABLE XLI

Questions Discussed by Students

PERCENTAGES OF 1171 STUDENTS WITH DIFFERENT GOD CONCEPTS AND WITH THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS DISCUSSED AT THE UNIVERSITY

SECTION	VARIOUS RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS DISCUSSED AT THE UNIVERSITY	GOD CONCEPTS							ALL STUDENTS
		PERSONAL	SUBJECTIVE	FORCE IN NATURE	SKEPTICAL	AGNOSTIC	ATHEISTIC	UNKNOWN	
1.....	Religious questions—Beliefs, customs, etc.....	52	58	52	49	63	49	54	53
2.....	Social questions—Attitude and relation of Jew to Jew, of Jew to Christian, and Christian to Jew, Intermarriage.....	44	44	49	51	48	50	40	45
3.....	Trends in Judaism—Adjustment of Jew to Judaism and to environment, survival, assimilation, Zionism, etc.....	38	48	47	43	46	30	29	41
4.....	Jewish students at university—Social, intellectual and religious questions.....	16	19	15	18	15	09	20	17

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